MUSLIM REVIVALIST MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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"...HERESY TO THE HERETIC, AND RELIGION TO THE ORTHODOX, BUT THE DUST OF THE ROSE PETAL BELONGS TO THE HEART OF THE PERFUME-SELLER..."

(From an inscription written by Abul Fazl for a place of worship in Kashmir)

(Blochmann, H. : *The Ain i-Akbari*, p. Lv)

PREFACE

The present work seeks to investigate the Muslim orthodox and revivalist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their general historical setting. It examines the early conflicts of the *Wujudis* and the *Shuhudis* in the background of the development of Sufism in India. It covers the study of the Mahdawi movement, being the earliest organised revivalist movement of the early sixteenth century—from the life and teachings of its founder, Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, its spread in different regions of Northern India, the circumstances which led to its growth and popularity, its contribution to the social and cultural life of the country, down to its decline. It also examines the revivalism of orthodoxy which a section of the Ulama and the Sufis attempted to bring about through relegating rational and scientific studies to background and by stimulating the development of theological studies, mainly of the *Hadis*. It shows how the protagonists of this school tried to effect a reconciliation between theology and mysticism.

The establishment of the Mughul rule in India saw the growth of the Naqshbandi *Silsila* which due to the influence of the teachings of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar was under the spell of orthodoxy. The development of this *Silsila* as also the adjustments it effected within itself by the time of the rise of Mujaddid have also been examined. It has been shown how a branch of the Naqshbandis continued to pursue its own programmes and policies despite Mujaddid's efforts to bring all sections of Muslims within the pale of his influence. The hectic efforts of Mujaddid to purge Islam of all extraneous influences, his attitude towards Hindus, Shias and other Sunnis who differed with him in idea and approach have been examined at some length. The circumstances leading to the emergence of two branches of the Naqshbandis adhering to two different ideologies after the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah, Mujaddid's political, religious and social teachings, the extent to which he was able to impress the nobles and high officers through whom he sought to extend hi mission as also their response to his teachings have been covered in this work. In order to examine the influence of his teachings and the success of his mission in India, the activities of his disciples, who were deputed by him to various regions have been subjected to a detailed examination. Mujaddid and his successor' influence on Jahangir,

Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the extent of their response to Mujaddid's teachings, the causes of his arrest and his subsequent release have been critically analysed. The shape which the conflict between *Wujudis* and *Shuhudis* assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the manner in which *Wujudis* or the pantheists contributed in strengthening the forces of peaceful co-existence and cultural assimilation have been elaborated at the relevant place.

The work was undertaken for the D. Litt. degree of Agra University in 1951. In accordance with the Agra University rules the thesis ought to have been submitted by 1956 but as a vast source material had to be examined, the work could not be completed before May 1962. I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellors of Agra University who have been so kindly granting me extensions on my request for completing the work. Dr. Nurul Hasan, Head of the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University, has placed all the Indian scholars of Medieval Indian History under a debt of gratitude by obtaining a large number of microfilms and photostats of the manuscripts not available in the Aligarh University Library—a very rich repository by itself. He also expedited their requisition, keeping my requirements in view. He not only never grudged his time but readily offered to discuss the problems relating to the subject whenever I approached him. I am extremely grateful to the Librarian, India (Commonwealth Relations) Office Library, London, who very kindly sent a number of original manuscripts and microfilms as and when requested. The Librarians of Aligarh Muslim University Library; Riza Library, Rampur; Lucknow University Library; Amir ud-Daula Public Library, Lucknow; Khudabakhsh Library Bankipur, Patna; Asiatic Society Bengal Library, Calcutta and Asafiya Library, Hyderabad Deccan also placed all their manuscripts and rare published works at my disposal, whenever I visited their libraries. Words fail me to express the deep sense of obligation which I owe to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur who provided all facilities to study manuscripts in the Riza Library, Rampur, even during holidays.

I was appointed a Research Associate on the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University for the session 1962-63. Professor C. H. Philips, Professor Bernard Lewis and Professor A. L. Basham, who had kindly arranged this assignment, helped me immensely throughout my stay there and enabled me to collect more material for revising the present work from the libraries in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester and Edinburgh. I offer this formal

acknowledgement inadequate though I know it to be. I am highly obliged to the Governments of France and West German Republic who honoured me by paying substantial grants for collecting material from the libraries of their respective countries. I could thus visit the libraries of Paris, Marburg, Colon, Bonn, Tubingen, Frankfurt, Wurzburg, Hamburg, Heidelburg, Berlin and Munich. I also visited the libraries of East Berlin, Vienna, Zurich, Amsterdam, Leiden, Hague, Athens, Rome, Stambul, Damascus, Baghdad, Najaf, Karbala, Tehran, Mashhad and Kabul. I am grateful to the University and the State and the public libraries of the above mentioned places for providing facilities to work and to obtain microfilm and photostat copies of relevant manuscripts and documents.

Sufficient material has thus already been collected for a scientific examination of the Muslim religious movements of XVIII to XX century in India and the following volumes may be published in due course :

I	1703-1762
II	1762-1831
III	1831-1898
IV	1898-1920

It is not possible for me to conclude without recording my debt of gratitude to Professor Mohammad Habib for permission to use the report written by him for my D. Litt. thesis as a foreword, to Professor P. D. Gupta, Vice Chancellor, Agra University for getting the publication of the work arranged through his University and to Principal Mathur of Baraseni Degree College, Aligarh, and Mr. Virendra Swarup, M. L. C., Kanpur, for taking keen interest in the publication of the work. My most sincere thanks are due no less to Mr. S. K. Srivastava, M. A., L. T., my former colleague in the office of History of Freedom Movement, Government of U. P. and a Research scholar of Agra University, under me, for his valuable assistance in seeing the book through the press. He also helped me in the preparation of this work. I am also grateful to Mr. Thomas R. Trautmann, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, who revised the entire manuscript with great care.

I must express my appreciation to the authorities of Job Printers, Allahabad, for getting the work printed expeditiously. On account of some unavoidable circumstances the work is being published without diacritical marks. I crave the indulgence of the readers for this deficiency.

5, Kela Nagar,
Aligarh (U. P.)
30-6-64

S. A. A. Rizvi

FOREWORD

BY

(EMERITUS PROF. MOHAMMAD HABIB, ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH)

It is difficult for me to find words to express my appreciation for this extraordinary work. It is an unrivalled study of Indo-Muslim ideology for the two centuries it covers. No medieval or modern work comes to this standard. As compared with our great medieval writers, even Maulana Abdul Haq Muhaddis, Dr. Rizvi has more basic material (Printed as well as manuscript, but mostly manuscript) within his reach due to his prolonged labour in its collection and the facilities of the modern age. Also, unlike them, he has freedom from bias and sectarianism, the fear of the Muslim popular opinion; fanaticism of the *millat* (Muslim Community) does not sit as a nightmare on Dr. Rizvi's mind. His study of the unpublished authorities has been very very sound ; his attitude is tolerant but critical ; and a very complete and (in my humble opinion) correct picture of the religious and mystic movements of the period emerges from the book.

A word of explanation is necessary before I proceed further. Muslim writers and thinkers (both mystics and *Mullas*) may be divided into two groups. There has been a lower layer that sought a livelihood by serving the government of the day or by pandering to the fanaticism of the multitude. But there has also been a top-layer of persons with broad humanity and freedom from religious fanaticism—Alberuni, Avicenna, Averroes, Ibn Arabi, Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya, Dara Shukoh, etc. about whom Dr. A. A. Rizvi correctly says : "To draw a distinction between believers and *kafirs*, heaven and hell, reward and punishment was frivolous in their eyes." Dr. A. A. Rizvi promises to be the greatest of this group in our generation.

I regret that for want of space, I can only touch upon the most commendable features of the various chapters of this excellent work.

SCOPE AND SOURCES

The medieval mystic and theological works that have come to us are broadly speaking of three types :—

(*a*) Completely correct, like the *Fawaid ul-Fawad* and the *Khair ul-Majalis*;

(*b*) Wholly fabricated, that is written by unknown persons in the name of great saints, teachers and even nobles and kings, who certainly did not write them ; (*c*) Tendentious books intended to help a particular hero, school or theory, which mix a little truth with a lot of lies, challenging even the well-known facts of history. Dr. Rizvi very rightly begins his work by classifying the different types of surviving works and subjecting them to a thorough and critical examination. This is specially necessary with reference to the tendentious books. I have only read a part of the material reviewed by Dr. Rizvi.[1] So far as I can form an opinion his criticism of the surviving literature is sound, scientific and critical.

Sufism In India

Dr. Rizvi devotes the first chapter of his work to the scholars and saints of India (both Chishti and Suhrawardi) from the Ghorian conquest to the fifteenth century. It is an excellent presentation, and Dr. Rizvi rightly draws attention to the fact that the chief event of this period was the publication of Ibn Arabi's theory of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* ; this theory enabled Ibn Arabi, probably the greatest non-scientific thinker, the Muslim world has ever produced, to dismiss the difference between Islam and *kufr* as "mere phenomena" and to interpret heaven and hell in purely allegorical terms. The language of Ibn Arabi is difficult to understand and he had the unfortunate habit of putting his ideas in a form calculated to cause resentment in orthodox minds *e.g.* "I have seen God in the form of a horse", where by "horse" is meant "a general idea". Fortunately in the next generation, Maulana Jalal ud-Din Rumi in his famous *Masnawi* put the ideas of Ibn Arabi in a form which most thinking Musalmans could accept and welcome. Thus in the story of Moses and the Shepherd-boy, the object of which is to explain that men can only comprehend and worship the powers that be according to the measure of their understandings, the Supreme Being explains to Moses : "To everyone we have given a different moral character and different religious concepts. What is light for you is fire for others ; what is a rose for you is thorn for others. The religious concepts (*istilah*) of the Indians are best for India; and the religious concepts of Sindh are best for the Sindhis. (Lastly) the religion of Love is quite distinct from all other religions, for God alone is the object of the creed and religion of lovers". (*Masnawi*, Vol. II).

The doctrine of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* implied the complete submergence of the communalist ideas that had been prevalent among the Musalmans

1. Chapter deleted from the present book; likely to be published as an independent work.

e.g. exclusive right to salvation as well as to the goods of this world, the duty of fighting non-Muslims merely because they worshipped their God or gods in a different fashion etc.—in the doctrines, of tolerance, equality, humanity and brotherhood. It was not to be expected that such a doctrine would go unchallenged or that its opponents would fail to appeal to the lowest elements of Muslim orthodoxy. The acknowledged leader of the opposition was Shaikh Ala ud-Daula of Simnan, who spoke of Ibn Arabi in very abusive terms, insisted on burning his works and postulated his own doctrine of *Wahdat ush-Shuhud*. However, the two doctrines reduced to slogans—"God is Everything" (*Wahdut ul-Wujud*) and "Everything is from God" (*Wahdat ush-Shuhud*) were destined to fight each other in the centuries to come. Belief in *Wahdat ul-Wujud* led to tolerance, secularism, amicable relations between all religious and racial communities and Akbar's doctrine of *Sulh i-Kul* (or Universal Religious peace). The doctrine of *Wahdat ush-Shuhud* led to the worship of the external *Shariat* (*Shariat i-Zahiri*) and communal hatred. A good part of Dr. Rizvi's work is devoted to studying the conflict between these two doctrines.

Dr. Rizvi puts his book in order by studying the following revivalist movements :

(1) The Mahdawi Movement (Chapters II & III).

(2) Revival of Theological Studies (Chapter IV).

(3) The Advent of the Naqshbandi *Silsilah* (Chapter V).

(4) The Revivalist Movement of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his successors (Chapters VI, VII, and IX).

(5) Pantheism and Cultural Assimilation in the Seventeenth Century (Chapter VIII).

I will confine myself to brief remarks on Dr. Rizvi's study of these movements.

THE MAHDAWI MOVEMENT AND MAHDAWI DAIRAS'

The *Quran* attributes no miracles to the Prophet and definitely declares that he had no knowledge of the future. Nevertheless, *hadises* foretelling the future have been attributed to him and some of these *hadises* have been definitely refuted by history—*e.g.*: "This office (Caliphate) will remain in the hands of the Quraish so long as there are twelve Muslims left on this earth" (*Sahih Muslim*). But it has not been possible for histoy to refute the fabricated *hadises* on

three topics—the monster Dajjal, the appearance of Mahdi and the reappearance of Jesus Christ. Critics have often commented upon the fact that all these *hadises* are *ahad*—that is based on one chain of narrators only, covering a period of over two centuries. Dr. Rizvi very wisely begins his discussion of "the Mahdi" by a reference to the arguments of Wali ud-Din Ibn i-Khaladun in his famous *Muqaddama* (Introduction to his famous history of the Islamic world). Ibn i-Khaladun exposed the 'hollowness' in the chain of narrators ; he also pointed out that the most authoritative collection of the Prophet's sayings, the *Sahih* of Imam Bukhari is completely silent about the Mahdi. Nevertheless the idea of the Mahdi was catching and as a result many Mahdis have appeared among Sunni Muslims. (Shia ideology has no place for adventurers claiming to be Mahdis).

Ordinary adventurers who claimed to be Mahdis were quickly suppressed by the government and the Ulama. But the movement started by Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who claimed to be "the promised Mahdi" but had absolutely no interest in politics and was no danger to the State and whose deeply religious life won the admiration of even his worst opponents, raised a problem which the politicians of the age could not solve on traditional lines. The Saiyid was a declared pacificist ; he said that the Lord had not permitted him to use the sword; the sword was consequently never used against him, though the kings and local officers exercised their power and asked him to leave the territories in their charge. This led to an increase in the Saiyid's followers, though he had to end his life in the Qandahar district. Still his followers, who unlike him, were subjected to persecutions, kept on forming *dairas*—really settlement of mud-huts with thatched roofs—where the members worshipped and prayed in accordance with the traditions of Saiyid Muhammad. The Mahdawis still survive as an organised, though an unexpanding group, in the Indian Union.

The late Maulana Azad, in a very hastily written and unrevised book, his famous *Tazkirah*, has given a good certificate to all religious leaders who opposed the state, the state-employed *Mullas* (*Ulama i-Su*) and public opinion, without caring much for the positive content of their teaching. Possibly inspired by what Maulana Azad wrote, the Mahdawis printed eight or ten of their best books. Dr. Rizvi has been able to add to these publications by collecting manuscripts from various libraries I suspect that there is a quantity of unpublished literature still in Mahdawi hands, but it is probably apocryphal and repetitive. Saiyid Muham-

mad Jaunpuri and his comrades wrote no books, collection of material about his life began in the second or rather the third generation. Accounts of the lives of his great followers (called Bandagi Miyans) were also prepared. Lastly, there was stock of controversial literature about Mahdiism.

Dr. Rizvi devotes about seventy pages of his work to the Mahdawi Movement and the *dairas* (Religious settlements) in which it found an expression. He shows a keen appreciation of the character of Saiyid Muhammad and the leaders of the Mahdawi *dairas*. Persecution kept the movement alive, but the stoppage of all persecution after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat left the movement with nothing, but its medieval ideology of trying to bring back a past, which could never return. Opinions on such a controversial matter are bound to differ, but it would be difficult to sum up the whole movement better than Dr. Rizvi has done.

THE NAQSHBANDI SILSILAH

(Chapter V)—The Chishti and the Suhrawardi mystic *Silsilahs* came to India in the thirteenth century, but the Naqshbandi *Silsilah* (an organisation of Turkistani origin, formerly called *Silsilah i-Khwajgan*) did not come to India till the time of Babur, though it is probably the earliest of all mystic *Silsilahs*. Dr. Rizvi's account of this *Silsilah* is based on the *Rushhat* of Waiz ul-Kashfi and other authorities. His biographies of the saints of this *Silsilah*—specially Shaikh Baha ud-Din Naqshband, Shaikh Ubaidullah Ahrar and Khwaja Baqi Billah—are clear, lucid and non-controversial. But Shaikh Ubaidullah Ahrar gave up the mystic tradition of his predecessors of keeping aloof from politics; his political influence could not save the Timurid dynasty from its well-deserved end in Central Asia, and it had also an unfortunate repercussion in India.

SHAIKH AHMAD SIRHINDI

Dr. Rizvi devotes over 150 pages of his work to the most audacious revivalist movement of the time, that of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The topic is not free from controversy but since Shaikh Ahmad has left us three volumes of his letters (*Maktubat*), which he published in his own life time, it is possible to begin with an objective analysis of his dogmas, and methods.

(1) Shaikh Ahmad wanted the worst possible treatment to be meted out to the Hindus, they were to be dismissed from all Government posts

and insulted and injured on every possible occasion. The Hindus throughout the centuries had enjoyed freedom of religious worship ; the Sirhindi Shaikh wanted this religious freedom to be suppressed. (2) The Shaikh, being a fanatic Sunni, wanted almost the same intolerant treatment for the Shias, whom he hated bitterly but many of whom held high posts in the administration. (3) Among his own Sunni group, the Shaikh condemned the *Ulama i-Su* (wicked *Mullahs*) and low-grade mystics, but he never succeeded in defining them, so that his condemnation seemed to be purely academic and no one in particular seemed to be accused. (4) The Shaikh condemned the ecstatic Bustami and Shaikh Junaid, about their mystic achievements and declared that they must not be taken seriously. But for himself he made two claims which no one had made before. He declared that he was the reviver of Islam for the second Millennium—*Mujaddid Alf i-Sani.* Previous kings and mystics had been content, on the basis of a weak or fabricated *hadis,* to claim that they had been commissioned to revive Islam for one century only. Secondly, he claimed that he was the *Qaiyum* or the agent of God for conducting all His affairs on this earth—and presumably elsewhere also. This was a higher status than had been claimed for by any mystic of the past, and the Shaikh's letters leave no doubt that this high office could under Divine direction, be delegated by him to his descendants. Though he tried to explain them away afterwards, there are statements of his in which he claims to have passed beyond the religious stations (*Maqamat*) of the four Pious Caliphs and to have reached the religious station of the Prophet himself ; he declares that he was both the "disciple and co-disciple of Muhammad". (5) The Shaikh condemned the doctrine of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and upheld the doctrine of *Wahdat ush-Shuhud.* (6) The basis of the Shaikh's ideology was declared to be the Sunni *Shariat* or the *Shariat i-Zahiri* (the external law).

This was a tall order for a country like India, but how was it to be implemented. "The Ulama of Islam" Ibn i-Khaladun remarks, "are farthest removed from politics than any other group." So we should not be surprised to find the Shaikh of Sirhind adopting the following simple procedure. The kingly office is great and sacred ; it is of primary importance, therefore, the king should be rightly guided by his nobles. The Mujaddid condemned the decades of Akbar's reign when the king was wrongly guided and the Musalmans were oppressed. But with the accession of Jahangir, he believed, a new age had dawned. So the

Mujaddid wrote letter after letter to various high officers asking them to lead Jahangir on the path of the *Shariat*.

The following facts are not controversial. Jahangir ordered the Mujaddid to be imprisoned for a year in Gwalior under a Hindu officer. He then ordered the Mujaddid to be set free, granted him an interview at which (according to Jahangir) the Shaikh confessed his errors, and then gave him a money-grant and permitted him to live in the precincts of the Imperial Court. The Mujaddid lived in the precincts of Imperial Court for three years, but his preaching cut no ice and he decided to retire Towards the end of the collection of his *Letters*, the epistles to high government officers disappear. He also advised his descendants to lead a retired life. The movement had fizzled out, though a tail of it—the descendants of the Mujaddid claiming to be the *Qaiyums*—remained till the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

Dr. Rizvi rightly points out that the *Shariat*, having been developed in lands with an overwhelmingly Muslim population, was inapplicable to India ; he might have added that even in those lands change of circumstances had replaced the *Shariat* by *Urf* or custom. As to the religious policy of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Dr. Rizvi is correct in stating that they patronised the leaders of all sects and creeds, so long as those leaders did not try to organise 'a state within the Empire' but when they attempted to do so the government was not reluctant to punish. He is also quite correct in pointing out that in the official histories of Shah Jahan, the descendants of the Mujaddid do not figure at all.

But in late years legends grew up to the effect that the agents of the Mujaddid had changed the ideology of the Sunni community and that as *Qaiyums* they had controlled all the political events of the time with the result (to quote Dr. Tara Chand) that "the Empire was lost but Islam was saved." Dr. Rizvi has carefully examined this mass of available legendary literature and has definitely proved how the Mujaddid's agents failed at Agra, Awadh, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, Qandahar and Kabul. He has also proved, mostly by reference to dates, that the legends about the Mujaddid's controlling political affairs were manufactured by writers very ignorant of history.

Dr. Rizvi has correctly described the whole Mujaddidi movement as 'hectic'; the Mujaddid, he says, wanted to build the second Millennium of Islam while completely ignoring the facts and achievements of the first Millennium. Chapter IX of the work has been devoted to the

successors of the Mujaddid and the quarrels between his descendants in the further generation, which definitely put an end to the office of *Qaiyum*; Dr. Rizvi is correct in saying that Aurangzeb thought and decided for himself and the *Mujaddidis* had no influence over him.

Revival of Theological Studies

Chapter IV of the work is devoted to this topic. The chief scholars described are Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir, Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi and Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi. The works of these scholars, specially the last, have been carefully examined. Though he has written greater works, Shaikh Abdul Haq is best known to our generation by his *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, a history of Indo-Muslim mystics which is based on reliable contemporary documents and consequently describes no miracle and includes no non-existing saints, like Baley Miyan, Shaikh Saddu and Shah Madar, whom Sir Henry Elliot once described as "the apotheosised impostors of Muslim India." Dr. Rizvi has carefully examined a letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq to the Mujaddid in which the latter is criticised but in the mild terms that were habitual to Shaikh Abdul Haq. Comparing the two Dr. Rizvi writes: "His achievements are, therefore, positive and tangible while those of Mujaddid negative and damaging. For, Mujaddid's polemics, though they failed to impress his contemporaries, tend to generate not only hatred, mutual distrust and discord among the various sections of the Muslims but also inject communal virus into the body politic of the country." (P. 175).

Pantheism and Cultural Assimilation in the Seventeenth Century

Inspite of the appeals made to the lower sentiments of the Sunni community, the old school of mysticism and tolerance continued. Dr. Rizvi has paid special attention to Miyan Mir, Mulla Shah Badakhshi, Sarmad, Shaikh Muhibbullah of Allahabad, Khwaja Khurd, Khwaja Kalan, Shah Kalimullah, Shaikh Burhan ud-Din Shattari (of Burhanpur) and Prince Dara Shukoh. The chapter ends with the following thought-provoking remarks: "Had Aurangzeb not contested for the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan, he would have been as good and respectful towards Mulla Shah or Shah Muhibbullah of Allahabad as Dara Shukoh was, though he might not have studied *Yoga* and *Vedanta* as Dara Shukoh did. The system of thought which appealed to the Muslims of India was the one propounded by Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din

Yahya Manyari, Shaikh Aman Panipati, Miyan Mir, Shah Muhibbullah and Mulla Shah and not that of the stamp of Mujaddid or his bigoted followers whose popularity did not extend beyond a small fraction of the Muslim population consisting of religious fanatics and bigoted *Mullas*, who were labouring under imaginary fears and apprehensions." (P. 375)

Mohd. Habib.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	*Ain i-Akbari.*
Asafiya	Asafiya Library Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh).
Bankipur	Manuscripts in Khuda Bakhsh Library Bankipur, Patna.
b.	Born.
Beveridge	English Translation of *Akbar Nama.*
Bib. Ind.	*Bibliotheca Indica.*
Bodleian	*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.*
Blochmann	English Translation of *Ain i-Akbari.*
Blochet	Persian Manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
Brockelmann	*Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur.*
Elliot and Dowson	*History of India as Told by Its Own Historians.*
d.	Died.
Ethe	*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, London.
H.	*Hijri.*
Haig	English Translation of Vol. III of *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh.*
JASB	*Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
Lowe	English Translation of Vol. II of *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh.*
R & B	English Translation of *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri.*
Ranking	English Translation of Vol. I of *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh.*
Rieu	*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.*
Storey	*Persian Literature, A Bio-bibliographical Survey.*

Of the two dates separated by an oblique, the first relates to *Hijri* and the second to A. D. Where neither H. (*Hijri*) nor A. D. is mentioned along with the date, A. D. is invariably meant.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

SUFISM IN INDIA

(Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century)

Growth of Sufism in early Islam was inspired by external influences as well as internal urges. Sufis were opposed to formal theologians as well as to the rationalists. The earliest of them aimed at emphasising the mystic elements in the life and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. They preferred the alleged mystic or esoteric interpretation of the *Quran* to the literal[1] and traced their spiritual descent back to Ali, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet. The earlier Sufis had among

1. *cf.* following commentaries on the *Quran* according to Sufic principles :
   (*a*) *Al-Haqaiq Fi't Tafsir* by Abdur Rahman b. Musa a's-Sulami al-Azadi an-Nishapuri (*d.* Shaban 412/November-December, 1021). (Bankipur Volume XVIII, Part II, No. 1451).
   (*b*) *Latif ul-Ishrat* by Abul Qasim Abul Karim b. Abul Malik b. Tahah b. Muhammad al-Qushairi (*d.* 465/1073). *Ibid.*, No. 1452.
   (*c*) *Arais ul-Bayan fi Haqaiq al-Quran* by Abu Muhammad Ruzbihan b. Nasr al-Baqli a's Sufi a'sh Shirazi (*d.* middle of Muharram 606/end of July 1209). *Ibid.*, No. 1454.
   (*d*) *Bahr ul-Haqaiq Wa'l Maani* by Najm ud-Din Abu Bakr Abdullah b. Muhammad al-Asadi ar-Razi commonly called Dayah (*d.* 656/1258). *Ibid.*, No. 1455.

   The following verses from the *Quran* are the main props of Sufism :

   "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth ; a likeness of His light is as a *pillar* on which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, (and) the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touch it not—light upon light—Allah guides to His light whom He pleases, and Allah sets forth parables for men, and Allah is cognizant of all things." (*Quran* XVIII, 35). "And certainly We created man, and We know what his mind suggests to him, and We are nearer to him than his life-vein". (*Quran* L, 16).

   "And in your own souls (too) ; will you not then see ? And in the heaven is your sustenance and what you are threatened with". (*Quran* LI, 21-22).

them both men and women. Hasan Basri,[1] Rabia al-Adawiyah[2] of Basra and Ibrahim b. Adham[3] belong to that school of Sufis who attached importance to nothing but love of Almighty, resignation, piety and asceticism. Their teachings are overflowing with love of Eternal Truth, of Eternal Beauty and of Eternal Goodness. No submission to His Will could be interpreted as abject humiliation.

The later Sufism with its endless range of emotional manifestations and imaginative attitudes could, however, not remain unaffected with the mystic and philosophical ideas of other religions and cultures. Spreading rapidly through Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran, Sufism became imbued with Hellenistic religious philosophies, Buddhism and to a certain degree with Vedanta. By the time Ali b. Usman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri[4] wrote his monumental treatise entitled *Kashf ul-Mahjub*,

1. Hasan al-Basri was born in 21/642 and later on he settled in Basra. He expressed his disapproval of the accession of Yazid, son of Muawiya, the second Umaiyad Caliph (680-683 A. D.). "He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety, which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islam. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Sufis see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often, as do the orthodox Sunnis". But the *Mutazilas* also openly reckon him as one of them not because the first representatives of their doctrine, Amir b. Ubaid and Wasil b. Ata, were among his pupils, but because he was himself like them inclined to the doctrine of free will. That Wasil b. Ata afterwards separated from him, does not alter the case. He died on 1 Rajab, 110/ 10 Oct., 728). (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 273).
2. Rabia al-Adawiyah "the saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiology" is highly respected for her inculcating penitence, gratitude, holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (*tawakkul*) upon God. When in a dream the Prophet asked her whether she loved him, her reply was : "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught or loving any save Him". *cf.* Margaret Smith : *Rabia the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam*, (London).
3. Ibrahim b. Adham b. Mansur (*d.* between 776 and 783 A. D.) was an ascetic and quietist. His mystical sayings always remained a great source of inspiration for the Sufis. "Poverty is a treasure which God keeps in heaven and does not bestow except on those whom He loves". "There are two kinds of begging. A man may beg at people's doors, or he may say, I frequent the mosque and pray and fast and worship God and accept whatever is given me. This is the worse of the kinds. Such a person is an unfortunate beggar". (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 432-44).
4. Abul Hasan Ali b. Usman b. Ali Al-Ghaznawi Al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri was a native of Ghazna. He had travelled far and wide and finally reached Lahore where he wrote the greater part of *Kashf ul-Mahjub* and died in *ca.* 465/1072. Nicholson

the Sufis were divided into twelve groups and were named after their Masters. Hujwiri says : "The whole body of aspirants to Sufism is composed of twelve sects, two of which are condemned (*mardud*), while the remaining ten are approved (*maqbul*). The latter are the Muhasibis, the Qassaris, the Tayfuris, the Junaydis, the Nuris, the Sahlis, the Hakimis, the Kharrazis, and the Sayyaris.[1] All these assert the truth and belong to the mass of orthodox Moslems. The two condemned sects are firstly, the Hululis, who derive their name from the doctrine of incarnation (*Hulul*) and incorporation (*Imtizaj*), and with whom are connected the Salimi sect of anthropomorphists ; and secondly, the Hallajis, who have abandoned the sacred law and have adopted heresy, and with whom are connected the Ibahtis[2] and the Farisis."[3]

It is significant that a work like *Kashf ul-Mahjub*, which not only inspired the contemporaries of the author but also continued to be a standard textbook for Sufis for a very long time, was written in Lahore. How much did the Buddhist ideologies of Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries as well as the Vedantic thoughts of India influence Hujwiri and other Sufis[4] in the formative stages of their movement, is now a

sums up the religious views of Hujwiri as follow : "Although he was a Sunni and a Hanafite, al-Hujwiri, like many Sufis before and after him, managed to reconcile his theology with an advanced type of mysticism, in which the theory of 'annihilation' (*fana*) holds a dominant place, but he scarcely goes to such extreme lengths as would justify calling him a pantheist. He strenuously resists and pronounces as heretical the doctrine that human personality can be merged and extinguished in the being of God. He compares annihilation to burning by fire, which transmutes the quality of all things to its own quality, but leaves their essence unchanged". (Nicholson, R.A. : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub* by Ali b. Usman al-Jullabi al-Hajwiri, preface, pp. XII, XIII).

1. For a detailed discussion of all these groups, see Nicholson : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, pp. 176-266.
2. 'Ibahati' or 'Ibahi' signifies 'one who regards everything as permissible'. For Farisis, see section on 'Hululis'. (Nicholson : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, pp. 260-66).
3. Nicholson : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, pp. 130-31.
4. "R. A. Nicholson long ago pointed out that Abu Yazid of Bastam (*d.* 261/874) might have derived his quite new doctrine of *fana*, by which he understood the total destruction of the empirical self in God, from his teacher, Abu Ali al-Sindi. (R. A. Nicholson : *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1914, p. 17). This view, which was warmly defended by Max Horten, (*Festgabe Jacobi*, Bonn, 1926, pp. 397-405 : *Indische Stromungen in der islamischen Mystik.*, I, Heidelberg, 1927, pp. 17-25), has recently been rejected as not proven by Professor A. J. Arberry. (A. J. Arberry:

matter of conjecture, but it is certain that the ideological structure of the Sufis of *Ba Shara* school remained basically Islamic though rituals and practices from other sources were freely drawn upon, assimilated and made an integral part of Sufism.

Another factor which made later Sufism popular amongst all sections of Muslims particularly those who inhabited the Persian-speaking areas, was the tremendous appeal of the poetry of Sanai (*d. ca* 526/1131), Attar (*d. ca* 627/1230), Iraqi (*d.* 688/1289) and Rumi (*d.* 672/1273). Abul 'Majd Majd ud-Din b. Adam Sanai of Ghazna was a poet of strong pantheistic tendencies and deep humanitarian outlook. He remained a target of criticism for the orthodox and the theologians of Ghazni throughout his life ; they left no stone unturned in getting him and his monumental work *Hadiqat ul-Haqiqah* condemned. His status, however, was later on immensely elevated by Rumi, who wrote,

> "Attar was the spirit, and Sanai its two eyes ;
> We came after Sanai and Attar."

The following lines from *Hadiqat ul-Haqiqah*, which immensely influenced the later Sufic thoughts bring out very clearly the humane spirit of his teachings :

> "Faith and Infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him ;
> And are exclaiming (together) : 'He is one and none shares His Kingship".[1]

Farid ud-Din Muhammad b. Ibrahim Attar popularised many of the cherished themes of Sufism through his allegorical *masnawis* ; the *Asrar Nama* (Book of Secrets) on general Sufic principles, the *Ilahi Nama* (Divine Book) on mystical love, and the *Mantiq ut-tair* (Speech of Birds) are the best specimens of first rate Persian poetry. Jalal ud-Din Rumi was "surely the greatest mystical poet in the history of mankind", as Professor A. J. Arberry puts it.[2] Rumi was himself highly convinced of

Revelation and Reason in Islam, London, 1957, p. 90)". R. C. Zaehner on the basis of close examination of *Upanishads* has sought to reaffirm the view of R. A. Nicholson. (R. C. Zaehner : *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960, pp. 93-109).

1. كفر و اسلام در رهش پویان : وحده لا شریک له گویان

2. A. J. Arberry : *Discourses of Rumi* (London, 1961), p. 9.

the importance of his monumental contributions to Muslim religious thoughts and has most aptly commenced the prose preface of the first volume of his *masnawi* with the following remarks :

"This is the book of the *Mathnawi*, which is the root of the roots of the roots of the (Mohammedan) Religion in respect of (its) unveiling the mysteries of attainment (to the Truth) and of certainty; and which is the greatest science of God and the most manifest evidence of God".[1] The most striking features of the *masnavi*, which covers the entire field of Sufi speculation, are the humanitarian outlook of Rumi and the emphasis which he laid on mitigating the hide-bound prejudices of creeds and catechisms.[2] Professor Nicholson has very ably summed up the influence, which Rumi exercised, in the following words : "Not only by the author's disciples and later members of the great

1. Nicholson, R. A. : *The Mathnavi of Jalal ud-Din Rumi*, Vol. II (London 1926), p. 4.
2. *cf.* the anecdote, relating how God Almighty rebuked Moses on account of his taking offence at the prayer of a shepherd who invoked the Lord in the rough idiom familiar to him, which supports the point under discussion :

"A revelation came to Moses from God—'Thous hast parted My servant from Me.

Didst thou come (as a prophet) to unite, or didst thou come to sever?

So far as thou canst, do not set foot in separation ; of all things the most hateful to Me is divorce.

I have bestowed on every one a (special) way of acting : I have given to everyone a (peculiar) form of expression.

In regard to him it is (worthy of) praise, and in regard to thee it is (worthy of) blame ; in regard to him honey, and in regard to thee poison.

I am independent of all purity and impurity, of all slothfulness and alacrity (in worshipping Me).

I did not ordain (Divine worship) that I might make any profit ; nay, but that I might do a kindness to (My) servants.

In the Hindoos the idiom of Hind (India) is praiseworthy ; in the Sindians the idiom of Sind is praiseworthy.

I am not sanctified by their glorification (of Me); 'tis they that become sanctified and pearl-scattering (pure and radiant).

I look not at the tongue and the speech ; I look at the inward (spirit) and the state (of feeling)."

[Nicholson, R. A. : *The Mathnawi of Jalal ud-Din Rumi* (London, 1926), Vol. II, pp. 311-12. Shaikh Farid ud-Din preferred the needle over a knife for the former was used for stitching while the latter for cutting. (*Fawaid ul-Fuad*, p. 239).]

brotherhood of which he was the founder, but among all Persian or Persian-speaking Sufis, the *Mathnawi* has been hailed as a unique revelation of esoteric truth long before Jami called it 'the *Quran* in Persian' (*hast Quran dar Zaban-i-Pahlawi*)", and said of Jalal ud-Din himself : "though he is not a Prophet, he has a Book" (*nist Paighambar wali darad Kitab*)".

The clouds that gathered round the political firmament of Islam in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries due to the rise of several heterodox movements and the challenge which the Abbasids were receiving from disintegration and decay made the Sufis cling more and more to orthodoxy. Treatises of Qushairi (*d.* 1072 A. D.), al-Ghazzali, Abdul Qadir Jilani (*d.* 1166 A. D.) and Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi evolved a workable synthesis between orthodoxy and Sufism and the organisation of the *silsilas*,[1] after the model of monastic orders of Medieval Chr'stendom and Buddhists, made Sufism rigid and inelastic. *Khanqahs*, hospices or monasteries, came to be regarded as the centres of Sufi activity; there the disciples engaged themselves in self-mortifying exercises, under the direction and guidance of the Master, and exposed themselves to the criticism of the fellow travellers of mystic path (*Suluk*).[2] They served as the nucleus of Sufi corporate activities like *Sama*[3] and assemblies held for the exchange of ideas. Every member of the *silsila* was required to offer his unflinching loyalty and devotion to the *Pir*.[4] *Khanqahs* were quasi-states with the *Pirs* as their spiritual heads commanding the allegiance of the disciples. Each *Pir* had his own spiritual domain known as *Wilayat*.[5] An elaborate hierarchy, on a world basis, of the officers of divine court consisting of three hundred *Akhyar*, forty *Abdal*, seven *Abrar* and four *Awtad*, three *Nuqaba* and one *Qutb*[6] or *Ghaus* had been evolved, by the time *Kashf ul-Mahjub* was written. The saints could not remain content with these simple titles, and more honorific ones like *Qutb ul-Aqtab* (pole among poles), *Qutb ul-Alam* (pole of the world),

1. The earliest *Silsila* was the Qadiriya Silsila founded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (*d.* 561/1166). Other important ones, which grew up, were the Silsila i-Khwajgan, Chishtia and the Suhrawardia *Silsilas*.
2. *cf.* Clarke, H. W. : *The Awarif ul-Maarif* by Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Umar b. Muhammad i-Suhrawardi, pp. 23-26.
3. *cf. Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 167-68.
4. *cf. Ibid.*, pp. 29-37.
5. *cf.* Jamali : *Siyar ul-Arifin* (Delhi 1311 H.), p. 115; *Fawaid ul-Fuad*, pp. 152-53.
6. Nicholson, R. A. : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, p. 214 ; *Fawaid ul-Fuad*, pp. 265-66.

Makhdum i-Jahaniyan (Lord of the Universe) and *Ghaus ul-Azam* (Greatest of the defenders) were subsequently coined.[1] The preceptors appointed their *Khalifas* and bequeathed to them their property, supposed to have been sanctified by them by constantly using them, like *khirqa*,[2] (a garment made of shreds and patches), *sajjada* or *musalla* (prayer carpet), *asa* (staff), *nalain* (slippers), etc. which were preserved as sacred relics by the recipients. Mere possession of these relics was deemed as helpful in raising the spiritual status of the possessor. A written licence allowing them to enrol disciples was called *Ijazat Nama, Misal* or *Khilafat Nama.* How immensely the disciples honoured their *Pir* can be gauged from the fact that after the death of the *Pir,* his tomb usually became an object of great veneration which verged on actual worship. The disciples came to have great faith in it and attributed to it such miraculous feats as even the *Pir* could never have thought of in his life time. Naturally, the tomb was supposed to be a greater source of inspiration to the credulous believers than the *Pir* himself. The growth of mystic orders did not mean necessarily a different ideology, its main significance being *Piri-Muridi* ; in many cases even contradictory philosophical concepts co-existing in the mind of the same individual tended to indicate that that ideology was not necessarily the essence of Sufism, the emphasis being on spiritual progress, development of Sufic practices and their standardisation.

Before the advent of the Turks, in the thirteenth century in India, all the problems arising from religious, philosophical and mystical interests had been put and answered in various ways by the theologians, philosophers and mystics of Islam. Within half a century of the Turks carving out the Delhi Sultanate, the last of the Abbasid Caliphs, al-Mustasim (1242-1258), was done to death at Baghdad which was given over to plunder and incendiarism in 1258 by Hulaku, a grandson of Chingiz Khan, who later founded the Mongol kingdom of Persia extending from the Amu Darya to the borders of Syria and from the Caucasus Mountains to the Arabian Sea. India thus remained the only land in the East where Muslims possessed vast resources, and Delhi, according to the Indian historians became the *Qubbat ul-Islam* the 'cupola of Islam'. The western frontiers of the Delhi Sultanate

1. For the criticism of the tendency, see Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari : *Maktubat Ahmad bin Yahiya Manyari* (Ethe 1844), Letter No. 94, f. 175a.
2. *cf.* Clarke, H. W. : *The Awarif ul-Maarif,* pp. 37-14.

remained the scene of constant invasion by the Mongols who often ransacked the Punjab and extended their depredations as far as Delhi, but on the whole, thanks to their mutual conflicts and internal weaknesses, Delhi enjoyed considerable peace and prosperity. The Turks, who migrated to India either with the invading forces of the Ghorids or had afterwards to leave their motherland on account of the Mongol ascendancy, could no more look westward for a peaceful living ; India was thus left the only place on the earth where they could hope for an honourable existence and which they could call their home. These bands of migrants to India had among them Ulama, Sufis, poets, philosophers, administrators, *wazirs*, soldiers, commanders and men known for their eminence and noble birth. Their presence gave to the court of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, a glory and grandeur that could match that of the legendary Mahmud and Sanjar.[1]

Gradually the Muslim population in India came to consist of foreign nationals of varied stocks and local Muslims, mostly converts from Hinduism. The Turks in their anxiety to retain their racial identity nurtured prejudices against Indian Muslims, especially low-born ones.[2] In the context of this racial prejudice, the principles of Islamic brotherhood, which the early Turkish rulers in India attempted to put into practice seem to have hardly evoked striking enthusiasm in the caste-ridden Hindu society. On the other hand, the tribal basis of the social organisation of the Turks and Afghans in a vast country like India gradually gave way and there were noticed confusion and deterioration in moral values.

The enforcement of the laws of the *Shariat*, evolved in the context of a predominantly Muslim population, presented itself as a vital problem in India to the Ulama and the rulers. The doors of *Ijtihad* were already closed. The rulers had therefore to work out *Zawabit* or the state laws, as Ziya ud-Din Barani has pointed out, instead of strictly adhering to the *Shariat*. The doctrine of *Din Panahi*,[3] or protection of

1. Ziya ud-Din Barani : *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 27.

2. *cf.* Prejudices against Imad ud-Din Raihan. Minhaj Siraj says, "The *Maliks* and servants of the Sultan's court were all Turks of pure lineage and Tajziks of noble birth, and Imad ud-Din i-Raihan (who was castrated and mutilated, and of the tribes of Hind), was ruling over the heads of lords of high descent, and the whole of them were loathing that state, and were unable any longer to suffer that degradation." (Raverty, H. G. : *Tabaqat i-Nasiri*, p. 829).

3. The four principles of *Din Panahi* were as follow :—

religion, said to have been propounded by Nur ud-Din Mubarak Ghaznawi in the court of Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish, was ruled out by Balban as impracticable. He would only recall the sermon, from time to time, to his sons, nephews and nobles, weep and remark, "I cannot fulfil the duties of protecting the Faith and how can I

(a) "The kings should protect the religion of Islam with sincere faith..... And kings will not be able to perform the duty of protecting the Faith unless, for the sake of God and the Prophet's creed, they overthrow and uproot *kufr* and *kafiri* (infidelity), *shirk* (setting partners to God) and the worship of idols. But if the total uprooting of idolatry is not possible owing to the firm roots of *kufr* and the large number of *kafirs* and *mushriks*, the kings should at least strive to insult, disgrace, dishonour and defame the *mushrik* and idol-worshipping Hindus, who are the worst enemies of God and the Prophet. The symptom of the kings being the protectors of religion is this :—When they see a Hindu, their eyes grow red and they wish to bury him alive ; they also desire to completely uproot the Brahmans, who are the leaders of *kufr* and *shirk* and owing to whom *kufr* and *shirk* are spread and the commandments of *kufr* are enforced. .... Owing to the fear and terror of the kings of Islam, not a single enemy of God and the Prophet can drink water that is sweet or stretch his legs on his bed and go to sleep in peace.

(b) "..... The open display of sins and shameless deeds and the publication of forbidden things should be suppressed among the Muslim people and in the cities, territories and towns of Islam through the terror and power of kingship. Sinful and shameless deeds should, by excessive punishments and warnings, be made more bitter for sinners than poison.... If prostitutes, who work for hire (*mustajira*), are not prepared to give up their sinful ways, they should practise their profession secretly and not openly and proudly. But if prostitutes practise their profession in their own disgraceful quarters, and do not come out into the public, the practice of their profession should not be prohibited ; for if the prostitutes are not there, many rascals driven by their sex-impulse will attack (Muslim) *harems*.

(c) "..... The duty of enforcing the rules of the *Shariat* of the Prophet should be assigned to pious, God-fearing and religious men ; dishonest and Godless people, who have no regard for the rights of others, as well as cheats, swindlers and self-seekers—in fact all men who are in love with this world should not be allowed to sit before the *masnad* (pillow) for enforcing the *Shariat* or given leadership in matters appertaining to the *Tariqat* (mysticism) or assigned the duty of giving *fatwas* (legal opinions) or the teaching of religious sciences.

(d) the fourth principle, which is necessary for the protection of the true creed and the salvation of kings, is the administration and enforcement of justice." [Ziya ud-Din Barani : *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 41-44 ; English translation of the excerpt by Prof. Mohd. Habib : *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (Kitab Mahal) originally published in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, pp. 137-38].

entertain such an ambition when my masters[1] themselves were unable to protect the Faith. But I can at least come to the rescue of the oppressed and have no regard for any man in the enforcement of justice. You, my sons and relations, should take care of your steps. If I come to know of your oppression of any weak person, I will punish you for it. In most cases I will put the murderers of innocent persons to death. Your near relationship to me and your claims of service will not prevent me from administering impartial justice."[2]

The Sultans could only be expected to aim at performing *Jahangiri* and *Jahanbani*, though the standards set for the same were very high, indeed. "Only that ruler can in truth and justice be called and deemed a king in whose territory no man goes to sleep naked and hungry, and who makes laws (*Zawabit*) and frames measures (*Mawazin*) owing to which no subject of his has to face material distress (*dar-mandgi*) from which there is a danger to his life."[3] The early Turkish rulers of India claimed to have based their monarchical structure on the Sassanid principles with which they were themselves very imperfectly acquainted. The Sultans and their nobles and advisers derived their knowledge of the political theory of government from the handbooks of political anecdotes ascribed to Jamshid and Kisra.[4] Though the basic structure of the administrative machinery conformed to the principles evolved by the Sassanids, details were worked out to suit the exigencies of time and place. Ala ud-Din's alleged retort to Qazi Mughis of Biyana clearly brings out the secular principles on which he sought to base his administrative structure.[5] Professor Muhammad Habib has,

1. Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish and Muizz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam.
2. Barani, p. 44 ; Professor Habib's translation, pp. 139-40.
3. Bughra Khan's observations to his son Muizz ud-Din Kaiqubad. [Barani, p. 147; Prof. Habib, p. 143 ; *cf. Fatawa i-Jahandari* (India Office Mss. Ethe 2563), ff. 90b-91b].
4. Some eminent scholars have propounded the theory that, "after the establishment of Muslim Delhi, the administrative system was modelled on that of Ghazni." The only piece of evidence with them in support of the above contention is that the basic textbook of jurisprudence, *Hidaya*, was written in Central Asia ; hence all the institutions and "the entire pattern of Muslim life bore the impress of Ghazni and Bukhara." [S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid : *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Lahore, 1962), p. 39.]
5. Sultan Ala ud-Din burst into laughter at Qazi Mughis's answer, and said : "I know nothing of the subjects that you have been talking about ; but it had

on the basis of a minute examination of *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, *Fatawa i-Jahandari* of Zia ud-Din Barani, the latter's sources and other contemporary literature, summed up the approach of Delhi Sultans towards their political, social and religious problems thus: "They (the Sultans) paid a lip homage to the *Shariat* and admitted their sinfulness if they were unable to enforce any of its provisions ; they kept the state-controlled *mullahs* disciplined and satisfied ; over the whole field of administration, concerning which the *Shariat* is silent or nearly silent, they made their own laws; if the traditional customs of the people were against *Shariat*, they allowed them to over-ride the *Shariat* under the designation of *Urf*. Thus state laws called *Zawabit* grew under the protection of monarchy. If these laws violated the *Shariat*, the principle of necessity or of *Istihsan* (the public good) could be quoted in their favour. And the back of the *Shariat* was broken for the primary reason that it has provided no means for its own development."[1]

The Ulama, who were the custodians of the interpretation of the *Shara*, found themselves in an awkward position at this idea of monarchy. They found no way out of this impasse in the face of the practical, utilitarian policy of the Sultans ; so they had to adjust themselves to avoid a crisis. "They are," according to Ibn i-Khaladun, "of all

repeatedly been reported to me, that *Khuts* and *Muqaddams* ride excellent horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with the Persian bow (*i.e.* cross bow), fight among themselves, and follow the chase, and yet never pay a *jital* of their taxes on lands *kari* and *chari*, although they take their share of *khuti* from the villagers separately, and that they are further in the habit of having parties and drinking wine ; yet some of them never come to the *Diwan*, whether summoned or not, nor pay the least respect to the *Muhsils*. My anger was roused at this, and glowing with passion, I said to myself, 'Here am I desirous of conquering other countries, and bringing more realms under my subjection; while within a radius of 100 *kurohs* of my own Kingdom, people do not show that obedience to my rule that ought to be shown, how can I then expect to bring other countries properly under my subjection ? For this reason I established *mizans* (schedules) and made my subjects thoroughly submissive, so that under fear of my commands they would all escape into a mouse hole ; and now you tell me that it is inculcated in the divine law, that the Hindus should be made obedient and submissive in the extreme." (Barani, p. 291 ; A. R. Fuller : Translation from *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, *J. A. S. B.* 1870, pp. 11-12).

1. Professor Muhammad Habib : *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 136-37.

people, those least familiar with the ways of politics."[1] Nevertheless they manned all the non-military posts. *Sadr us-Sudurs*, *Qazis*, *Muftis*, *Muhtasibs*, *Imams*, *Khatibs* and teachers were drawn from the class of Ulama. They were also made responsible for the execution of the principles of the *Shara* at different levels. Even after due compromises and adjustments, the Ulama had no smooth sailing. They fell a prey to their own ambitions to consolidate their power and prestige. The Sufis on the one hand and the philosophers and unorthodox thinkers on the other offered them stiff opposition. The division of Ulama into two categories *viz.* *Ulama i-Akhirat* or *Ulama i-Rabbani* and *Ulama i-Duniya* or *Ulama i-Su*[2] was effected with a view to enhancing the prestige of pious, virtuous and selfless Ulama but it unwittingly provided a weapon against the entire class in the hands of their opponents as well as in the hands of the disgruntled elements of their own groups. No measuring rod for unworldliness, or lust for wealth and power could ever be discovered. Wealth or poverty could never be fixed as standards of piety. Suhrawardi saints rolled in wealth, accepted government service but they could not be dubbed as immoral or impious.[3] Wealth and material prosperity could not, therefore, be denied to the Ulama. The worldly-minded Alim of one camp could very easily be acclaimed as pious and saintly by the other camp and *vice versa* ; any opposition to the state or to the nobles by them was sufficient to earn them the title of 'worldly-minded Ulama'. Mutual jealousy among the Ulama was

1. Ibn i-Khaladun says, "The religious laws are special cases derived from the well known (texts) of the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. In their case, one expects the facts of the outside world to conform to them, in contrast with the intellectual sciences, where, in order (to prove) the soundness of views, one expects those views to conform to the facts of the outside world." [Rosenthal, F. : *The Muqaddimah* (London, 1958), Vol. III, p. 309].

2. *cf.* Izz ud-Din Mahmud b. Ali Kashani : *Misbah ul-Hidaya Miftah ul-Kifayah* being the Persian adaptation of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Abu Hafs Umar b. Muhammad Suhrawardi's *Awarif ul-Ma-rif* (Ethe 1837/I. O. 2281), f. 22a.

3. *cf.* the following anecdote : The *Wali* of Multan once stood in need of grain. He made a request to Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. The Shaikh ordered one stack of grain to be given to him. The *Wali* sent his men to bring the corn from the stack. In the stack of grain there came out a vessel full of silver (coins). On being informed of the fact, the *Wali* said, "The Shaikh has given us the grain and not the silver (coins). Send it back to the Shaikh." When the Shaikh came to know of it, he informed the *Wali*, "Zakariya knew it. He had given you the corn along with those silver coins." (*Fawaid ul-Fuad*, pp. 236-37).

not totally absent, and transgressing their own domain of learning and piety, they dabbled in politics and felt no hesitation in extending their prestige through political alliances. Kings and nobles stood in need of their *fatwas* to suppress their enemies and uproot subversive elements in the state itself; the Ulama in their turn looked towards the kings and nobles for patronage and financial help. They established matrimonial alliances with the kings and nobles. Under strong rulers like Ala ud-Din Khalji and Muhammad b. Tughluq they remained within proper limits but they would quickly retrieve their fallen prestige by turning to their advantage the situation arising out of the accession of weak rulers to the throne or struggle between the nobility and the rulers. They faced serious ups and downs throughout the reigns of Delhi Sultans and the Mughuls. *Fatwas* (legal decrees) for the suppression of heresy, unbelief and *Bidats* (innovations) were the strongest weapons in their armoury with which they sought to suppress all and sundry if they opposed them on any issue. In a country like India with a preponderance of non-Muslim population and a state dependent from its very inception on *Zawabit* and not on the *Shariat*, it was neither unusual nor undesirable that Muslim thinkers and rationalists studied the thoughts, the institutions and the ideology of Hindus with interest and sympathy and mixed with them freely in social life. But such an attitude on the part of the rationalists and philosophers was not only inconceivable but also disgusting to the Ulama and they quickly dubbed the former class as heretics. The Ulama were always on the lookout for ways and means by which they might enhance their prestige and invest themselves with a superior social status akin to the Brahminical priesthood or the Christian clergy. Because this status was denied them by the *Shariat* and the *Sunnat*, which they aimed to propagate and enforce, they resorted to circulating and popularising spurious traditions regarding their prestige and prerogatives.

Sufis, on the other hand, were more closely knit as compared with the Ulama who could be played against each other, exploited and suppressed with a little exertion. Of the organised Sufi orders which played an important role in the religious and cultural history of the country from the beginning of the thirteenth century were the Chishtis and Suhrawardis. The Chishti Silsila was actually founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami[1] (*d.* 940 H.) who had ultimately settled down at Chisht,

1. Amir Khurd : *Siyar ul-Auliya* (Delhi, 1302 H), pp. 39-40.

a village near Herat. But it was the soil of India which proved fertile for the speedy growth of the Chishti Silsila, for in countries outside India, its growth was stunted in the absence of suitable leadership. Khwaja Muin ud-Din Hasan, son of Saiyid Ghiyas ud-Din Husain born in Sijistan in *ca* 536/1141 and initiated by Shaikh Usman Haruni into the Chishtia order, came to India in *ca* 1192, shortly after the defeat and death of Prithvi Raj. After staying for some time at Lahore and Delhi, he finally shifted to Ajmer in *ca* 1206, where, but for occasional visits to Delhi, he stayed till his death in Rajab 633/ March-April, 1236. He died at the advanced age of ninety-seven years.[1] He was humane, gentle and quiet in temperament. In Ajmer he was given a cordial welcome by the *Darogha* (Commander) of the place, Saiyid Husain Mashhadi Khing Sawar.[2] Finding himself exhausted by the strenuous journey through Central Asia, Ghazni, Lahore and Delhi, he selected Ajmer for his permanent residence as he probably found the atmosphere of Delhi too suffocating for him to stay there.

No authentic record of his activities at Ajmer is available but the casual aphorisms attributed to him by the standard works depict

1. Jamali : *Siyar ul-Arifin* (Delhi), pp. 5-16; *Siyar ul-Aulia*, pp. 45-48 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 22-25 ; Muhammad Bihamad Khani : *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (Rieu I. 84 a), f. 141 ; *Ain i-Akbari*; (Nawal Kishore) Vol. III, p. 168; Mir Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani : *Majma ul-Auliya* (Ethe 645), ff. 595b-598b; Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar* (John Rylands Library Manchester Mss.), f. 15a.
2. The view that he reached in the reign of Prithvi Raj as mentioned in *Siyar ul-Auliya* and *Akhbar ul-Akhyar* cannot be reconciled with the details of Muin ud-Din Chishti's itinerary as is mentioned in Jamali's *Siyar ul-Arifin*. Jamali appears to be more objective than Amir Khurd whose version of Khwaja Muin ud-Din's conflict with Prithvi Raj is hardly tenable in view of Khwaja's temperament.
از دهلی بجانب خطهٔ اجمیر متوجه گشت— آن مقام فرجام اگرچه رونق اسلام یافته بود اما غلبهٔ کفار نگونسار مقدار یک فرسنگی برجا بود - حضرت سلطان قطب الدین ایبک طاب ثراه خدمت سید السادات حسین مشهدی را دران مقام فرجام بداروغگی گزاشته بود
Ghausi Shattari is also very clear on the point and has remarked at two different places that Khwaja Muin ud-Din reached Delhi in the year Prithvi Raj was defeated and killed by Sultan Muizz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam. (*Gulzar-i Abrar*, ff. 15a, 19b).

According to the *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, whose author belonged to a family of saints, Khwaja Muin ud-Din reached India from Khurasan, on account of the depredations of Chingiz Khan, settled in the Ajmer region which was one of the most heavily fortified places of India and engaged himself in strenuous ascetic exercises. He reached Hindustan (Delhi) in the early years of the reign of Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish. (Muhammad Bihamad Khani : *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, f. 140 b).

him as a man of deep monistic tendencies who could not find any distinction between the lover, the beloved and the love itself. He was neither a missionary nor a miracle-monger. He did not work among the masses nor did he write any book. Spurious mystic literature, which appeared in his name as well as in the names of his successors and became popular as early as the fourteenth century,[1] brings to the fore the fact how, with the rise in Muslim population, enthusiastic successors of inferior calibre attempted to bolster up the Chishtiya mission by giving a legendary aura to the achievements and teachings of Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti. Writing about the popularity of the Khwaja's traditions in the early sixteenth century, Jamali says, "Most of the prominent Hindus of that region were honoured by the robe of faith through the blessings of the traditions of that essence of divine secrets. Most of those who were not converted to the (Muslim) faith would send immense offerings and *futuh* (gifts) to *Hazrat Ishan*, so much so that even now those *Kafirs* are devoted in the same manner. They come every year, place their heads on the dust of the threshold (of the tomb) of that eminent personality and full moon of the sky of sainthood, and pay large sums to the care-takers of that sacred tomb and perform various services.[2]

1. Mohammad Habib : 'Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period' (*Medieval India Quarterly*) Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 15-37.

A. *The Anis ul-Arwah* : Conversation of Shaikh Usman Haruni alleged to have been written by Shaikh Muin ud-Din.

B. *Dalil ul-Arifin* : Conversation of Shaikh Muin ud-Din alleged to have been written by Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki.

C. *Fawaid us-Salikin* : Conversation of Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Farid ud-Din.

D. *Asrar ul-Auliya* : Conversation of Shaikh Farid Ganj i-Shakar, alleged to have been written by his son-in-law Maulana Badr Ishaq.

E. *Rahat ul-Qulub* : Conversation of Shaikh Farid, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya.

F. *Afzal ul-Fawaid* : alleged to have been written by Amir Khusrau.

G. *Miftah ul-Ashiqin* : alleged conversation of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud written by Muhibbullah.

H. Apocryphal *Diwan* of Shaikh Muin ud-Din and Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar.

2. بیشتری کفار نامدار ازان دیار بهبرکت آثار آن زبدةالاسرار بهتشریف ایمان مشرف شدند و بیشتریکه ایمان نیاوردند نذرفتوح بیحد وعد بحضرت ایشان‌می فرستادند که هنوز آن کفارهم بدان غط معتقداند هرسالي می‌آیند وسربوخاک آستانهٔ آن عظیم‌القدر و آن بدرسپهر شیخیت می‌مبتد و مبلغ های‌کای به مجاوران روضهٔ خط مطهره ایشان می رسانند وخدمتي بجاي می آرند

Ba barkat i-Asar cannot be translated as 'becoming Muslims at his hand' as some scholars have rendered it. [S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid : *History of Muslim Civilization* in *India and Pakistan* (Lahore, 1962), p. 57.] *Hazrat i-Ishan* in this

Thus Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti of spurious and legendary works is quite different from the historical personage of the same name who existed in the early thirteenth century in India.[1]

Of his disciples Khwaja Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, son of Saiyid Kamal ud-Din Ahmad Musa, a native of Aush, who also had travelled widely and drawn inspiration from various saints of different orders, rose to great eminence. He permanently settled down in Delhi at the instance of his preceptor Khwaja Muin ud-Din Sijzi who before his death appointed him as his spiritual successor. Bakhtiyar Kaki died (14 Rabi I, 633/27 November, 1235) under the spell of an ecstatic trance caused by a couplet[2] recited in a *sama* (dance accompanied by singing) performed by the Sufis to arouse ecstatic feelings.[3]

context should be interpreted as the *tomb* of the Khwaja and not the Khwaja himself.

1. Likewise the following appraisal of his achievements in Ajmer by a modern scholar is over-drawn and is borne out neither by historical evidence nor by the earliest available authentic mystic literature. "From Lahore, Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti went to Delhi and then to Ajmer, which was ruled by Rai Prithvi Raj. One cannot think without admiration of this man, almost alone, living among people who considered the least contact with a Muslim as defilement. Sometimes he was refused water to drink. In the torrid climate of Rajputana this was the hardest punishment one can imagine. The high-caste priests demanded of the Raja of Ajmer that he should banish the Khwaja, whose influence had begun to make itself felt among the lower classes of the place. The Raja sent the order of expulsion through Ram Deo, head of the priests of Ajmer. Legend relates that in approaching the Khwaja, Ram Deo was so much impressed by his personality that he became, from the moment, a faithful disciple of the Khwaja and spent the rest of his life in the service of the helpless and the down-trodden." (Yusuf Husain : *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* Bombay 1959, p. 37). A less credulous estimate is as follows :

   "Ajmer was not merely the seat of Chauhan power ; it was a religious centre also where thousands of pilgrims assembled from far and near. Shaikh Muin ud-Din's determination to work out the principles of Islamic mysticism at a place of such political and religious significance shows great self-confidence. Unfortunately, no details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It cannot, however, be denied that his stay in Ajmer must have been a serious trial for the principles of the Chishti Silsila. On his success or failure in Ajmer depended the future of the Muslim mystic movement in Hindustan." [K. A. Nizami : *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, (Aligarh 1961), p. 184].

2. کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را - هر زمان از غیب جانی دیگر است

3. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 48-58 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 25-26 ; *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 169 ; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 17-31; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 605a-607b, *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 141b-144b.

He attracted a very large circle of followers drawn from Muslim population of Delhi. Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish, his nobles and the common people vied with each other in showing reverence to him. The Ulama looked with annoyance at the *sama* parties that he organised. Backed and supported by his friend Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagori, a saint of Suhrawardi order, these *sama* gatherings went a long way in popularising the Chishti order and in fact became centres of attraction for the Muslims, as the popularity of Sufism in India grew.

Shaikh Hamid ud-Din Sufi, another eminent disciple of Shaikh Muin ud-Din Chishti, was so inclined towards leading a life of seclusion that his preceptor gave him the title of *Sultan ut-Tarikin* (king of anchorites). He settled in Nagor where his life as a village peasant brought him into closer and more frequent contacts with the Hindus who had behind them a rich heritage of the traditions of the Yogis given to a life of poverty, resignation and piety. About a certain Hindu he would repeatedly remark that he was a saint.[1] His dietary habits were akin to those of the Hindu saints and he confined himself to a strictly vegetarian food. Hindi or Hindawi was the medium of conversation in his family. He died on 29 Rabi II, 673/November, 1274.[2]

Amongst the disciples of Khwaja Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Farid ud-Din Masud Ganj i-Shakar was most eminent ; but as the *Wilayat* of Delhi was bequeathed by the Master to Badr ud-Din Ghaznawi,[3] Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar confined his activities to Hansi and Ajodhan.[4]

Overflowing with deep humanitarian outlook, his long sojourns in different parts of India (eastern U. P., Bihar, Rajputana and the

1. Hasan Sijzi : *Fawaid ul-Fuad* (Delhi), p. 81.
2. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 156-165 ; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 13-14 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 29-37 ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 613b-614a ; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 35b.
3. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 165-168 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 50-51.
4. How deep was the reverence of the Delhi folk for Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar was manifest at the time of the latter's visit to Delhi, after his preceptor's death, from the vast stream of devotees that flowed unabated towards him throughout his period of stay in Delhi. In Shawwal 651/November-December, 1253, when Sultan Nasir ud-Din marched towards Uch and Multan, soldiers of his army thronged in the streets and bazars of Ajodhan to pay their respect to the saint in such large numbers that there was virtually a stampede and his disciples had to throw a cordon round him to save him from possible injury. (*Fawaid ul-Fuad*, pp. 160-61).

Punjab) put him into touch with a number of Yogis too, who paid frequent visits to his *Jamaat Khana*. It was there that Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya came in contact with the Yogis, whose conversations left indelible marks on his memory and he would often recall them with reverence and admiration.[1]

Mr. Nizami, while rejecting Professor Mohammad Habib's remarks that "converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishti Silsilah," has relied upon the information of the *Jawahir i-Faridi* compiled in the XVIII Century A. D., *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports* which depict Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar as having converted a large number of families in the Punjab in the same way as Saiyid Salar Masud Ghazi is said to have done in some of the districts of U. P. He says, "The tribes claim and have been claiming for centuries that their ancestors were converted to Islam by the great saint. Their claim will hold good unless challenged on the basis of some positive historical evidence."[2] The early mystic records (*Malfuzat* and *Maktubat*), contain no mention of conversion of the people to Islam by these saints. In the context of this, the *Jawahir i-Faridi*, legendary and unreliable in character, and the oral evidence of *zamindar* families, from whose information the *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports* were compiled, cannot be given much credence. These *zamindars*, in order to establish their proprietary rights over larger and larger areas of land, had to prove their superior ancestory by resorting to many cunning devices. They linked their ancestors with real as well as imaginary saints.[3] Had Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar performed such exploits, Shaikh

1. One of the Yogis informed Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya that, "our science says that there are two *Alams* (worlds) in the human *Nafs* (self). One is *Alam i-Ulwi* (sublime world) and the other is *Alam i-Sufli* (lower world). From head to navel it is *Alam i-Ulwi*, from navel to feet it is *Alam i-Sufli*. The way to discipline lies through sincerity, purity, good manners, and good dealings in *Alam i-Ulwi*. In *Alam-i Sufli* there is observation, purity and chastity". (*Fawaid ul-Fuad*, p. 97).
2. *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar*, p. 107.
3. The popular line :

اولا نداف بودیم بعدازان گشتم شیخ – غله چون ارزان شود امسال سید می‌شویم

"We were originally a cotton dresser, later on we became a shaikh,
If grain becomes cheap, we will become a Saiyid this year."
shows how the Muslims continued changing their caste with every favourable change in their material prosperity.

Nizam ud-Din Auliya or Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh could not have ignored the topic in their conversations.[1]

After the death[2] of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar on 5 Muharram, 664/17 October, 1265, Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya, the greatest of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century Indian saints, succeeded him, though he had to make a hard struggle for obtaining supremacy in the beginning. After his return from Ajodhan

1. Attempts are being made by a group of historians to prove that early Sufis were great missionaries of Islam and had penetrated into the Indian towns where they preached a very high social and moral ideal, if not a superior gospel. Ghorid conquests are being represented as a movement which liberated the caste-ridden and down-trodden Hindus from the shackles of social discrimination and economic hardship. Mr. Nizami has collected the information from *District Gazetteers* of U. P., mainly of the eastern districts, regarding graves in U. P. associated generally with fictitious saints who had allegedly settled in the pre-Ghorid period. He says, "Their claims may or may not be correct, but it is difficult to challenge the local traditions with regard to the historicity of these graves, particularly when they are corroborated by epigraphic evidence." (*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 76-77). The present author has made an extensive survey of all such graves associated with the saints of pre-Ghorid period in connection with the revision of the *District Gazetteers* in U. P. He has not been able to find any pre-Ghorid epigraphic evidence regarding these graves. Nor is the information in the *Gazetteers* regarding such fictitious saints based on epigraphic evidence. A large number of these fictitious graves of saints appear to have emerged between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries on account of ever closer contacts with Hindus. Like the particular local deities of Hindus in each village, Muslims contrived to have graves of fictitious saints for their local worship. They exercised immense influence indeed. The fulfilment of vows through prayers at these graves seems to have led many Hindus to embrace Islam. Indeed, inanimate objects such as these graves appear to have played a more important role in conversions than the early saints themselves. The mode of showing veneration to these graves is still very peculiar and differs from place to place. At some places it verges on idolatry. Sultan Sikandar Lodi is said to have banned worship at such graves. (*Waqiat i-Mushtaqi*, p. 15) and Mujaddid Alf i-Sani vehemently opposed these practices. But they are still the objects of great veneration and elicit the devotion of rural Muslims. The beliefs connected with them exercise more influence on them than the *Shariat* itself. Hindus even to this day offer sweets and flowers on such graves. They are the symbols of common culture, heritage and peaceful co-existence of the Muslims and the Hindus in India.

2. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 58-91 ; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp.31-59 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 52-54 ; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 169; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 651a-652b ; *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 144b-146a.

he led a comparatively obscure life in poverty and hardship till he finally settled down at Ghiyaspur.[1] In the reign of Sultan Muizz ud-Din Kaiqubad (1287-1290), he acquired considerable fame which went on increasing in the subsequent reigns of the Khalji Sultans until his death on 18 Rabi II, 725/3 April, 1325.

The account of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya, which has come down to us, was written by his disciples and admirers. Taking for granted that, at places, the account is devoid of objectivity, even then it is indisputably correct when it says that Muslims from all classes were attracted to his discipleship and he was instrumental in bringing about considerable change in their social and moral life. Ziya ud-Din Barani's long appraisal of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya, though given in an appreciative vein, indicates that Muslims formed the bulk of his visitors. They considered him as the Junaid and the Bayizid of his age and thronged to him to elevate their moral and spiritual life through his teachings.[2] In the *Jamaat Khana* of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar, where he lived for some time in his youth, he had manifested keen interest in the teachings of Yogis. He loved to refer with reverence the selfless devotion of Brahmins to their religion.[3] One from amongst the audience of the Shaikh enquired, "There is a Hindu who recites *Kalima*, believes in the Unity of God and acknowledges Muhammad as His Prophet ; but when Muslims come to him he keeps quiet. (How do you account for this?)" Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya replied, "His affair is with God. He can punish him or forgive him as He likes. Some Hindus know that Islam is a true

1. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 108-114.
2. *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 343-347.
3. Once he consoled Amir Hasan, who was rightly distressed for having not received his salary, with the anecdote of a Brahmin. There was a Brahmin in a certain town who possessed untold wealth. The *Wali* of that town forcibly deprived him of all his wealth and made him a pauper. One day the Brahmin was going somewhere. A friend came to him and enquired about his welfare. The Brahmin replied that he was alright. The friend remarked, "You have been forced to part with all your belongings and effects. How are you happy then?" He replied, "My Brahminical thread is with me." The point which Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya sought to emphasise was that just as the Brahmin shed no tears of sorrow at the loss of all his worldly effects so should Mir Hasan be not too much attached to material assets. Even if he were to lose his entire wealth, that should not cause him any anxiety. "It is the love of the Almighty that is lasting and permanent." (*Fawaid ul-Fuad*, p. 65).

religion but they do not embrace Islam."[1] On another occasion he expressed his views regarding conversion in more definite terms. One day a slave, who was the Shaikh's disciple, visited him with a Hindu. Introducing the Hindu to the Shaikh, he said, "He is my brother." The Shaikh said to the slave, "Has your brother any inclination towards Islam?" He replied, "I have brought him to your feet for that very purpose. May the blessings of the Master convert him to Islam." Shaikh Nizam ud-Din with tears in his eyes remarked, "The heart of these people is not changed through one's sermons. However, if some of them are able to join the company of some pious man, they may become Muslims."[2] What the Shaikh wanted to impress upon him was righteousness and a high sense of morality, piety and godliness. During the course of his conversation he related two anecdotes which emphasised the necessity of righteousness and of a high code of morality among the Muslims. One anecdote related how the ruler of Iraq embraced Islam after being influenced by the company of Caliph Umar. The latter subsequently offered him the governorship of Iraq but he desired only a desolated village. To Umar's great surprise no such village could be discovered in the whole of Iraq. The former king remarked, "O Umar! I have given you a highly prosperous Iraq. If a single village out of it becomes desolate, you will be responsible for it on the Day of Judgement." The second anecdote centred round Bayizid Bistami. A Jew lived in the neighbourhood of that saint. When Bayizid died people said to the Jew, "Why did you not become a Mussalman"? He replied, "Which Islam should I embrace? If Islam is what Bayizid possessed it is beyond me. If it is what you possess, I would feel ashamed of embracing Islam."[3]

Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya was succeeded by Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh of Delhi[4] (*d.* 18 Ramzan 757/14 September, 1356) who clung to orthodoxy more strictly than his preceptor. He declared, "If one goes out of the pale of the *Tariqat*, one remains within the bounds of the *Shariat*. If one oversteps the *Shariat* too, what is the other asylum left to seek?" He imposed many limitations on *sama* and tried to render

1. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-97.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
4. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 80-86 ; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 92-97 ; *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 148b-151a.

it as less obnoxious to the orthodox as was possible.[1] He attempted to do away with the practice of bowing by touching the head to the ground before the saints as was prevalent during the days of his own preceptors, but permitted kissing the ground with lips. Equally he opposed the veneration of graves, for it often verged on worship, and approved of *tawaf* (circumambulation) of the mausoleums of the saints.[2] From the practical point of view these reforms could not have cut much ice but they prominently exhibit that mental crisis which had overtaken a section of the Sufis which was gradually drifting more and more towards orthodoxy. The traditions of the Chishti Silsila were a great hindrance and Shaikh Nasir ud-Din could only make superficial compromises. He explicitly brought out the importance of Yogic breathing exercises over which the most perfect of the Yogis, called Sidh, had achieved utmost mastery.[3]

The death of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh of Dehli took away from the domain of Indian Sufism a central figure who possessed a deep humanitarian outlook and commanded more or less universal reverence.[4] The crisis in the mystic field, which was brewing in other countries of the Middle East due to the popularity of the monistic and pantheistic works of Ibn Arabi and his disciples, started to affect the ideology of the Indian Sufis too. Before dealing with that crisis it is essential to mention, however, briefly the Suhrawardis and the main Sufic currents and cross currents as they appeared in India in one and a quarter centuries of the formative period of Indian Sufic thought as well as to give a brief description of the *Qalandars*.

The Suhrawardis in India traced their spiritual descent back to Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Umar b. Abdullah Suhrawardi (1144-1234), the author of the *Awarif ul-Maarif* which like *Kashf ul-Mahjub* served as an important textbook of all the Indian Sufis for many centuries. He settled in Baghdad, where he was received at the court of the Caliph al-Nasir. There he rose to great eminence and died at the ripe old age of ninety-two in 632/1234-1235.[5] Of his disciples who settled down near Delhi, the most important were Shaikh Nur ud-Din Mubarak

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 82.
2. *Khair ul-Majalis*, *Majlis* 48th, p. 157.
3. *Ibid.*, *Majlis*, 12th, pp. 59-60.
جوگیان سرآمده که بزبان هندی ایشان را سده می گویند انفاس شمرده می زنند
4. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 110-156; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 59-91; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 54-60; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 657a-660b.
5. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 506.

Ghaznawi (*d.* 632/1234-35) who served for some time as *Shaikh ul-Islam* in the reign of Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish,[1] and Maulana Majd ud-Din who for some time served as *Sadr* in Iltutmish's reign.[2]

Though Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagori was a disciple of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi, he remained more closely associated with Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He was a man of scholastic attainments and wrote a number of works on Sufism. *Tawali ush-Shumus* written by him is a commentary on the ninety-nine names of God and has been very highly extolled by Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi. *Lawaih*, *Lawami* and *Ishqiya* are the other treatises on Sufism written by him. He did not accept the prohibition of *sama* which was forbidden by Suhrawardis and had to face strong opposition on that account. The *sama* received immense popularity owing to the efforts of Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagori and that of Qazi Minhaj ud-Din Juzjani. His verses and writings manifest his strong leanings towards monistic ideology and the emotional and ecstatic aspects of religion are supreme in his thoughts and practices.[3]

Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi, another eminent disciple of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi, was also a friend of Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish too was devoted to him, but on account of the hostility of Shaikh ul-Islam Shaikh Najm ud-Din Sughra, who brought a charge of adultery against him, he had to leave Delhi.[4] He stayed for some time at Badaun but ultimately left for Bengal where he settled down ; he died at Pandua.[5]

The accounts of the differences between Shaikh ul-Islam Najm ud-Din Sughra and Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi have been handed down to posterity through the works of the mystics. Modern scholars have also accused Najm ud-Din Sughra of being unscrupulous and vainglorious, on the basis of the records of the mystics.[6] No work explaining the story from Najm ud-Din Sughra's side is available. It is, therefore, difficult to sift the truth, but this much is certain : Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi was very outspoken and he suffered from a superiority

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 20.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-44; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 147-155; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 610a-613a; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 21a.
4. *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 54-55.
5. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 44-46 ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 615a-616a ; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 37a.
6. Nizami, K. A. : *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, p. 162.

complex. The following anecdote not only lays bare the attitude of contempt which Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi had towards the Ulama but also brings out the difference in the approach of the saints and Ulama towards such a basic issue as *Namaz* and seeks to establish the superiority of the *Tariqat* over the *Shariat* :

When Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi reached Budaun he stayed there for some time. One day he went to the house of the governor of Badaun, Qazi Kamal ud-Din Jafri, for some purpose or the other. The servants who were sitting at the door informed the Shaikh that the Qazi was performing his *Namaz*. The Shaikh smiled and asked if the Qazi knew how to perform the *Namaz*, and retraced back. When, after the departure of the Shaikh, this news was communicated to Qazi Kamal ud-Din, he paid a return visit to the Shaikh the next day and said, "Why did you ask whether I knew how to perform the *Namaz*? I have written several treatises on *Namaz* and its rituals." Shaikh said, "Of course; the *Namaz* of Ulama is different from that of the *Faqirs*". Qazi enquired, "Do the *Faqirs* have different types of *Sijda* (prostration), *Ruku* (kneeling), etc. or do they read some other *Quran*?" Shaikh said, "Ulama in their *Namaz* face the Kaba and perform the *Namaz*. If they cannot see the Kaba they perform the *Namaz* in the direction of Kaba. If they are at some place where they cannot find out the exact direction they face the direction which appears to conform most closely to the direction of the Kaba. The *Qibla*[1] of Ulama is none other than these three but the *Faqirs* do not perform the *Namaz* unless they see *Arsh* (the throne of God)". Qazi Kamal ud-Din did not seem to appreciate his point of view but without saying anything he turned back. In the night he saw a vision that Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi had his prayer carpet spread on *Arsh* and was performing *Namaz*. Next day both met in a certain assembly. Shaikh Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi remarked, "The extent to which the Ulama can reach is very clear. They are only trained to teach. They can become either a teacher or a *Qazi* or a *Sadr i-Jahan*. They are incapable of even conceiving any other higher stage, but *Darweshes* do reach much higher stages. The initial stage is the one which was shown to the Qazi in the preceding night." Qazi Kamal ud-Din after listening to Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi's discourse got up, apologised and threw his son Shaikh Burhan at the feet of the Shaikh to be made his disciple.[2]

1. That point to which people direct their prayers, especially the direction of the Kaba.
2. *Fawaid ul-Fuad*, p. 249.

The most prominent of Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi's disciples was Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya who wielded great influence in Multan[1], its neighbourhood, Sindh, and parts of the Punjab. Sultan Shams ud-Din Iltutmish held him in great esteem and the latter had amassed fabulous wealth[2] which was awfully shocking to many of his contemporaries, but he would retort, "A serpent can harm only one who does not know *afsun* (incantations)." There existed very cordial relations between him and Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar. He died on 7 Safar, 661/21 December, 1262.[3]

His son Shaikh Sadr ud-Din succeeded him after his death. He could not contribute much to the development of his *Silsila*. After his death[4] he was succeeded by his son Shaikh Rukn ud-Din Abul Fath. He gave great impetus to his *Silsila*, visited Delhi twice during the reign of Sultan Ala ud-Din Khalji and had cordial relations with Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya. He refused to join hands with Sultan Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah in the latter's plan to undermine the prestige of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya. He visited Delhi thrice during Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah's reign. In the reign of Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Tughluq he stayed on in Delhi for over four years. He led the funeral prayers at the death of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din, and was present on the occasion when Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din was killed due to the collapse of the roof of the palace. Shortly afterwards he returned to Multan where he continued to live till his death in 1335.[5]

1. It is said that when he reached Multan from Baghdad he was not welcomed by the local saints, for his fame had already reached there. In order to express their wish, they sent a cup of milk full to the brim, indicating that the city had as many scholars as it could afford to maintain. Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya placed a rose on the milk-cup and sent it back, thereby indicating that he would live there like a rose on the surface of milk. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 27).
2. *Fawaid ul-Fuad*, pp. 236-37.
3. *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 138b-139b. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 26-39 ; *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 103-106 ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 616a-618a.
4. *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 140a, *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 128-36 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 61-63 ; *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 169 ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 617-621a.
5. *Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 140-43; *Siyar ul-Auliya*, pp. 135-41; Barani, pp. 396-97 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 63-66 ; Ibn Battuta (Paris, 1449), pp. 213-214 ; Rizvi : *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, Vol. I, (Aligarh, 1959), p. 182 ; *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, ff. 140a-140b.

Both Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufis had carefully imbibed the teachings available in the works of earlier masters, of Hujwiri, Ghazzali, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi. The strict adherence of the Chishti and the Suhrawardi orders to orthodox theology dampened all enthusiasm for creative thinking. *Shariat* (Holy Law) and *Tariqat* provided the codes of belief and behaviour for the Chishti and the Suhrawardi saints. They held *Shariat* as the fountain and source of all spiritual progress without caring for the subtle differences of orthodox theology itself. They accepted the concept of God as the creator of the universe, the ideas of the unity and the permanence of the Divine Essence (*Zat*) and Attributes (*Sifat*), and the doctrines of Predestination and Divine Omnipotence. They insisted on obedience to God's Commands and on following the foot-steps of Prophet Muhammad with a view to obtaining his intercession on the Day of Judgment. Their insistence on strict obedience to the *Shariat* helped a great deal in eliminating the possibility of a serious clash with scholastic theologians and in preserving the unity of the small Muslim community in India. But it did not form part of their fundamental teachings. The colourless and abstract discussions of the scholastics had no appeal for them. They supplemented the orthodox attitude of commands and prohibitions with an emotive and a living religious experience. "Truth" according to them could be grasped only intuitively through achieving *Marifat* or gnosis, but they did not bother themselves much with the nature of the "Truth". The characteristic feature of Sufism was the acquisition of knowledge through individual experience; this precluded the possibility of inflexible patterns of rituals, beliefs and ethics. Though the Chishti and Suhrawardi saints in India did not materially deviate from the pattern set by the earlier Sufis, their doctrines did have some distinctive elements. They ruled out logic as a method of getting at the "Truth". *Sama* gatherings, where music was played, transported the Chishtis to the realm of unlimited Divine bliss, while the Suhrawardis and the Ulama condemned the practice lock, stock and barrel.

While the popularity of the saints was growing and while many of them shared state patronage, the Ulama expressed their disapproval of the saints. This was partly because of their dissatisfaction with what they thought to be heterodox practices and partly the result of a genuine fear that the rejection of the standards of objective behaviour would adversely affect the position of the *Shariat*. At the same time the Ulama could not attack all the saints some of whom enjoyed prestige as theologians.

Therefore, the tussle continued between the Ulama and the Sufis though it remained confined within certain limits.

While maintaining the Ulama in position of importance the Sultans and the nobles, in common with the rest of the Muslims, shared the belief that the blessings and the prayers of the saints irrespective of their faith would help them out of difficulty. To the common people mysticism provided the emotive principle of faith. Their local centres around living or dead *Pirs* including legendary figures provided local places of pilgrimage and festival ; their practices bore a great resemblance to similar practices among non-Muslims and also they provided an escape from the rigours of the routine of *Shariat*. The stories of the supernatural powers of the saints were readily believed by a gullible audience which did not care to verify or to reject them. This led to the growth of legendary works in the name of the eminent Sufis and continued to be believed as authentic despite vehement protests by their sober disciples. Their importance can in no way be minimised as they exercised immense influence over the masses.[1]

Among the intelligentsia there was an added factor that contributed to the popularisation of the Sufic outlook. In poetry, specially Persian poetry, the concept of love was interchangeable with the concept of divine love, the common intellectual disgust with hypocrisy and formalism of the orthodox Ulama could be freely condemned through the medium of poetry. Moreover, poetry through the symbolism of a Sufic allegory provided new avenues of freedom for intellect and imagination. The idiom of poetry in India as in Persia during the same period became strongly imbued with the spirit of Sufism through the popular *sáma* gatherings which were common amongst most of the Sufis. Sufistic poetry reached quarters where otherwise it would not have reached.[2]

In view of this popularity of the Sufi saints no government could afford to ignore them. It was inevitable that there should be large sections of disaffected people even amongst the Muslims. The dissatisfied nobles frequently utilised the general disaffection to create trouble

1. Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari did not question the *Malfuzat* of Shaikh Usman Haruni, said to have been compiled by Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti and sought to gloss over the statements which seemed incredible to him. (*Madan ul-Maani*, Bodleian No. 1263, f. 53a.)
2. *cf. Diwans* of Amir Khusrau.

for the empire. A word that a popular saint had blessed a rebel would cause adverse effect on morale.

The practice of Yoga and theistic philosophy as developed by Patanjali was known to the Muslims through the excerpts from his works translated in *Kitab ul-Hind* by Alberuni. Fresh attempts to study it through the original source were made by Qazi Rukn ud-Din of Samarqand, apparently Qazi Rukn ud-Din Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al Amidi of Samarqand, the celebrated author of *Kitab al-Irshad* (*d.* 9 Jamad II, 615/2 September, 1218) who took a short sojourn in Lakhnauti (Bengal) between 607/1209-10 and 613/1216-17. He learnt yogic principles from Bhojar Brahmin who had obtained a great mastery in the science before he embraced Islam. With the help of the Brahmin he translated the Sanskrit work *Amrita Kund* on yoga into Persian ; it was later on translated into Arabic and once again into Persian by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari.[1] The book contains the following ten chapters :

1. Microcosm
2. Secrets of Microcosm
3. Mind and its meanings
4. Ascetic exercises and how to practise them
5. Breathing and matters relating to it
6. On the preservation of Semen.
7. Whims
8. Symptoms of death
9. Subjugation of the spirits
10. Continuation of the story of the physical and metaphysical worlds.

The early Chishti and Suhrawardi saints were, however, interested only in the studies of the basic texts of their own religion. Whatever knowledge of either Vedanta or Yoga they acquired was through direct contact with the Yogis and Hindu mystics. There was great similarity between Sufi beliefs, organisation and institution and those of the Hindu mystics but the influence of the Hindus, meagre though it was, in the

1. Catalogue Codicum Orientatium, Or F. 113 (3), ff. 29a-47a, Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, 7732.

early period was felt among the popular practices rather than in ideology or in any doctrinal reformulations. Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar is said to have founded a system of *zikr* in Hindi,[1] possibly more for the use of those converts who could not adapt themselves to Arabic.

At the same time, as the Hindus and the Muslims lived together, a process of cultural synthesis was inevitable. Many of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism. Even the Turks who had settled down in India in the thirteenth century cherished many cultural traditions of their Buddhist ancestors of Afghanistan. In the growth of this composite cultural and religious tradition, the similarity between popular Hindu practices and the Sufic practices, between the various trends of mystic thoughts amongst the Hindus as well as the Muslims could not remain unnoticed. It was therefore natural that in popular festivals both participated with each other. In praying for the removal of a difficulty, a Hindu would readily go to a Muslim grave or a saint and the common Muslim would approach a Hindu saint. The spirit of tolerance, which the monistic trends amongst the Sufis encouraged, provided an ideological basis for the mixing up of the followers of different faiths. In the poetry, the Hindu idiom was easily accepted by the Muslims as corresponding the Sufic allegory. After all, the position which the orthodox *Shariat* had prescribed for the non-Muslims was not practicable in India. The liberal trends in Sufism provided a religious justification for the realities of the situation.

QALANDARS

Technically the term Qalandar applied to those Darweshes who generally remained engrossed in a state of *sukr* (mystic intoxication) and confined their religious activities to the obligatory part of religious observances only and did not pay any heed to the formalities of social life and material needs.[2] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, they had, in India, assumed the characteristics of the wandering monks of the Suhrawardi and the Chishti saints. They originally considered

1. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus : *Jawahir i-Khamsa* (Ethe 1875, I. O. 2124), f. 223a.

2. Umar ibn Muhammad al-Suhrawardi : *Awarif ul-Maarif* (Printed on the margin of *Ihya al-ulum al-Din* of Ghazzali, Bulak 1873, Vol. I, pp. 208-209 ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, p. 15 ; *Khair ul-Majalis*, p. 137 ; Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani : *Lataif i-Ashrafi* (John Rylands Library, Manchester), f. 67b; *Malfuzat i-Ibrahimia* (Tubingen, Ms. Orient 4° 1620), ff. 34a-35a.

the settled *khanqah* life of the saints as a sin and the mystic literature relating to the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries is full of serious conflicts between the Qalandars and the Chishti and the Suhrawardi saints ; often most eminent amongst them were not spared.[1] Some of the Qalandars shaved off their beards,[2] moustaches and eye-brows, some roamed about naked with only a loin-cloth round their waist ; a few donned ornaments made of heavy iron rods, called *Alat i-Qalandari*[3] (instruments of *Qalandari*) ; some of them ate a type of grass, which is not specified in the sources but was apparently hemp. They were generally very temperamental and miracle-mongers.[4]

Some of them had great influence with the Sultans and provincial governors and shared their fortunes and reverses. A Qalandar, who was a great favourite of Tughril, the rebel governor of Bengal, together with his associates put on ornaments made of gold rods, but they also could not escape Balban's wrath : they were executed after the fall of Tughril.[5] Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi and his followers also attended the court of Sultan Jalal ud-Din Khalji ; they, at the instance of the Sultan, had mortally wounded Sidi Maula.[6]

Shaikh Abu Bakr had, however, adopted a settled *khanqah* life. Shaikh Jamal ud-Din Ahmed of Hansi,[7] an eminent Khalifa of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar, would stay in his *khanqah*, which was situated on the banks of Yamuna, during his visits to Delhi. *Sama* gatherings were also arranged in his *khanqah* and Shaikh Jamal ud-Din

1. View of Rukn ud-Din Multani about Qalandars, *Khair ul-Majalis*, p. 74 ; Conflict with Shaikh Bad ud-Din Ishaq a servant of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31. Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh was mortally wounded by one Turk Qalandar. [*Khair ul-Majalis*, (Supplement), p. 286.]
2. For the origin of the practice which is said to have started from Shaikh Jamal ud-Din of Sawa in Persia, *cf.* H. A. R. Gibb : *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Vol. I (Cambridge 1958). pp. 37-39 ; *cf.* *Khair ul-Majalis*, pp. 40, 132, 6.
3. Barani : *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 91 ; Rizvi, S. A. A. : *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, p. 189.
4. *Khair ul-Majalis*, p. 130.
5. Barani : *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 91.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 212 ; Rizvi, S.A.A. : *Khalji Kalin Bharat*, p. 24 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar* p. 73.
7. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 67-69.

would join in. Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya was also one of the regular visitors to the *khanqah*.[1] Shaikh Hamid Qalandar (son of Maulana Taj ud-Din), a scholar of considerable merit, was formerly a disciple of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya ; he later on enrolled himself in the discipleship of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh of Dihli and compiled his *Malfuzat*.[2] Likewise Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Abu Ali Qalandar[3] (*d*. 724/1324) was originally a theologian but later on, in a moment of mystical ecstasy, threw his books in the river and became a Qalandar. Letters ascribed to him contain exuberant expressions of divine love and his *masnawis* are also in the same vein. He exercised immense influence on later Sufis, and on Qalandars too, who began to cling more and more to orthodoxy. They generally enrolled themselves in the Chishti[4] order but some of them joined the Suhrawardis. However, freedom from the formalities of religion and preference for a life dedicated to divine love and ecstasy remained the cardinal features of that discipline.

To the static Muslim mystic ideologies prevalent in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a new dynamic outlook came from the monistic and pantheistic doctrines of the Hispano-Arab mystic Muhi ud-Din Ibn ul-Arabi (Ibn Arabi), styled by his followers as Shaikh ul-Akbar. He was born on 17 Ramzan, 560/28 July, 1165) at Murcia. After travelling a great deal in Mecca, Baghdad, Alepoo, Mosul and Asia Minor, he finally settled down in Damascus and died there in Rabi II, 638/October, 1240. "Although conforming to the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
2. *Khair ul-Majalis*, pp. 10-12 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 110-12.
3. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 129 ; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 58b.
4. According to Abd ur-Rahman Chishti, Shah Haidar Qalandar, Shah Husains Balakhi and his disciple, Shaikh Shams ud-Din Tabrezi, Maulana Rum and hi associates, Shaikh Fakhr ud-Din Iraqi, Khwaja Ishaq Maghribi and Khwaja Hafiz were Qalandars. (*Mirat ul-Asrar*, f. 25b.) Amongst the early Chishtis he has included the following in the list of those who had Qalandari leanings : Shaikh Sabir Ali Khalifa of Shaikh Farid Ganj i-Shakar and Shaikh Sabir Ali's Khalifa Shaikh Shams ud-Din Turk ; Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz ; Mir Saiyid Muhammad Makki ; Khwaja Masud Bak and Shaikh Ahmad Abd ul-Haq of Rudauli. In the Chishtiya Qalandariya branch which started with Shah Rumi, he has mentioned his Khalifa Shah Najam ud-Din Qalandar of Jaunpur, Shah Qutb Mina, Shaikh Mahmud Qalandar of Lucknow and Shaikh Abd ur-Rahman of Laharpur (Sitapur, U. P.). (*Mirat ul-Asrar*, ff. 25b. 26b.)

practice of the Muslim faith and professing its beliefs, Ibn Arabi's sole guide was the inner light with which he believed himself illumined in a special way. He held that all Being is essentially one, as it all is a manifestation of the divine substance. The different religions were thus in his opinion identical. He believed that he had seen beatified Muhammad, that he knew the greatest name of Allah."[1] Of his works, *Al Futuhat ul-Makkiya* (Meccan Victories or Discourses) gives a complete system of mystic knowledge in 560 chapters, of which chapter 559 contains a summary of the whole. *Fusus ul-Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) commenced by him at Damascus in the beginning of 627/end of 1329 comes next to the *Futuhat ul-Makkiya* in importance. Browne says, "No single individual (except, perhaps, Jalal ud-Din Rumi) produced a greater effect on the thought of his successors than the Shaykh i-Akbar (Most Great Shaykh) of Andalusia."[2]

In popular mystic parlance his doctrine of Unity of Being is known as *Wahdat ul-Wujud* or *Tauhid i-Wujudi.* From the time he propounded his doctrine, he had to meet the stubborn opposition of the theologians. Though almost all of his doctrines were vehemently criticised by his opponents, nothing was more obnoxious to the orthodox than the theory, *al-Wujud al-mutlaq asl kulli Wujud* (Absolute Existence is the source of all existence) and the language which he used and the terminology which he coined to express his ideas. However, "when Ibn ul-Arabi says that Absolute Existence is the source and cause of all existence, he simply means that Absolute Reality (Being) is the source and cause of all beings. It is absurd to hold, as Taftazani and Jurjani seem to have done, that Ibn ul-Arabi means by God the abstract concept *Wujud* which has no external existence, yet is the source of all external existence...." The real source of all beings is what he calls "Absolute Being" in the sense of a Reality or a Being whose existence is identical with its Essence (*mawjudun bi Wujudin hwa 'aynuhu*), a Being whose existence is necessary (*Wajibul Wujudi li dhatihi*). This Essence is at once all the realised and the realisable *mahiyat* (quiddities) in the external world with all their properties and accidents, and upon this Essence, its existence and manifestations, the human mind bases its notion of abstract existence".[3]

1. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. II, pp. 361-62.
2. Browne : *A Literary History of Persia,* Vol. II, (Cambridge, 1951) , p. 500.
3. *cf.* A. E. Affifi : *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid ud-Din-Ibnul Arabi* (Cambridge, 1939, p. 4.

It was, however, Abdul Karim b. Ibrahim al-Jili, the author of *al Insan ul-Kamil fi marifat il-awakhir wal awwal* (The Man Perfect in Knowledge of the Last and First Things), who presented the pantheistic doctrines more systematically and intelligibly. He was born in 1365-66 and died between 1406 and 1417. In 790/1388, he was in India at a place named Kushi (?), where he conversed with a man on whom death sentence had been passed for the murder of three notables. By 796/1393-94 he appears to have shifted to Zabid in Yemen.[1] In his works, though he did not follow Ibn Arabi at all stages, he throughout drew extensively upon his manner of philosophising and looked at things from a similar point of view. He has maintained that, "While every appearance shows some attribute of reality, man is the microcosm in which all attributes are united, and in him alone does the Absolute become conscious of itself in all its diverse aspects. To put it in another way, the Absolute, having completely realised itself in human nature returns into itself through the medium of human nature ; or, more intimately, God and man become one in the Perfect Man, the enraptured Prophet or Saint whose religious function as a mediator between man and God corresponds with his metaphysical function as the unifying principle by means of which the opposed terms of reality and appearance are harmonised. Hence the upward movement of the absolute from the sphere of manifestation back to the unmanifested Essence takes place in and through the unitive experience of the soul ; and so we have exchanged philosophy for mysticism."[2] Ibn Arabi's *Futuhat i-Makkiya* and Jili's theory of "Perfect Man" seek to raise the prestige of the Sufis to unimaginable heights, parallel to the 'seal of the prophets' or the 'last of the prophets'. Ibn Arabi transformed Tirmizi's[3]

1. Nicholson, R. A. : *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 81.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
3. Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Ali b. Husain known as al-Hakim (*d.* 285/898) wrote about thirty well-documented treatises. He maintained, "Anyone who is ignorant of the nature of servantship (*ubudiyyat*) is yet more ignorant of the nature of lordship (*rububiyyat*) *i.e.*, whoever does not know the way to knowledge of himself does not know the way to knowledge of God, and whoever does not recognize the contamination of human qualities does not recognize the purity of the Divine attributes, inasmuch as the outward is connected with the inward, and he who claims to possess the former without the latter makes an absurd assertion. Knowledge of the nature of Lordship depends on having right principles of servantship, and is not perfect without them. This is a very profound and instructive saying." (Nicholson : *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, pp. 141-42.)

theory of *Khatm ul-Wilaya* into a definite mystic hierarchy and demonstrated the existence of the *Khatm ul-Auliya* of each cycle. He himself claimed to be the "seal of the Saints" of his own age. *Wilayat* or (Sainthood) of a Prophet was considered to be superior to his *Nubuwat* (Prophethood).[1] According to Ibn Arabi, "the Perfect Man is necessary to God as the medium through which he is known and manifested, but in that case the knower is essentially one with the known."[2]

The credit of popularising the works of Ibn Arabi amongst a vast majority of Muslims, however, goes mainly to his step son Abul Maali Sadr ul-Haq Wa'l Millat Wa'd Din Muhammad of Quniya (*d.* 672/1273, who was an eminent Sufi, and a scholar and a teacher of considerable merit. Of his numerous[3] works, which elucidate the controversial aspects of Ibn Arabi's aphorisms, the most important is the *Fukuk ul-Fusus*[4] or the commentary on *Fusus ul-Hikam.* He encouraged his students too to undertake similar works.[5] At his feet sat the eminent mystic and poet Fakhr ud-Din Iraqi and Maulana Jalal ud-Din Rumi was one of his most intimate friends.[6]

Ibn Arabi and his followers were tortured and persecuted and had to face refutations of their doctrines. This stimulated creative intellectual activity too. From the theologians' and jurists' side the movement was championed by Taqi ud-Din Abul Abbas Ahmed, popularly known as

1. Ibn Arabi : *Futuhat i-Makkiya*, Part I, p. 319 ; Muhammad Yusuf Kaukan Umri: *Imam Ibn i-Taimiya*, pp. 307-310. In India the Mahdawis, the Raushanais and other pantheists exploited the idea of *Khatm ul-Wilaya* and 'Perfect Man' to their own advantage while Abul Fazl who had drunk deep at the fountain of Ishraqis (Illuministic) or pseudo-Empedoclean; neo-Platonic, and pantheistic doctrines, used the honorific appellation of 'Perfect Man' for Akbar for his own political ends.
2. Nicholson, R. A. : *The Mathnawi of Jalal ud-Din Rumi*, commentary on Books I & II, Vol. VII (London, 1937), p. 304.
3. For a list of seventeen works of Sadr ud-Din which are still available *cf.* Brockelmann : *Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. I (Leiden, 1943), p. 585.
4. Maulvi Abdul Muqtadir : *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur*, Vol. XIII Mss. No. 873.
5. Muid b. Mahmud b. Said b. Muhammad as-Sufi al-Hatmi al-Jami (*d.* 690/1291), a disciple of Sadr ud-Din Qunawi wrote a commentary on *Fusus ul-Hikam* at his teacher's instance. (*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur*, Vol. XIII Mss. No. 874.) Iraqi's *Lamaat* was inspired by Sadr ud-Din's lectures.
6. Jami : *Nafhat ul-Uns* (Calcutta, 1859), p. 647.

Ibn Taimiya. He was born on 10 Rabi I, 661/22 January, 1263 at Harran near Damascus. Having completed his educational career even before he attained the age of twenty, he succeeded his father as Professor of Hanbali Law after the latter's death in 681/1282. He worked whole-heartedly in Cairo in mobilising Sunni hatred against the Mongols (704/1305) and later on against the Shias. He had to face stiff opposition from his inveterate enemies who accused him of anthropomorphism. His treatise against *Ittihadiya*[1] also raised a storm of opposition against him.

He issued several *fatwas* against a number of innovations (*bidats*) which had become popular amongst the contemporary Muslims. In one of the *fatwas* he denounced the practice of visiting the tombs of saints and prophets (710/1310). On account of his works and writings he had to undergo imprisonment a number of times. He died on 20 Ziqada, 728/26 September, 1328.

Disbelieving the theory that the doors of *Ijtihad* were altogether closed to future generations he considered himself a *Mujtahid fil mazahib.* He disliked many of the practices prevalent in unorthodox sects like Kharijis, Murjis, Rafzis, Qadris, Mutazilas etc. and refuted their claims in strong words.[2] He is said to have written about five hundred treatises, several of which were devoted to refuting and condemning the pantheism of Ibn Arabi and the unorthodox practices of the Sufis. *Risala i-fi's Sama wa'l Raqs*, *Al-Furqan bain al-Awalia al-Rahman wa Awalia*

1. Becoming one. "In the technical language of the Sufis, the name *Ittihad* is given to the mystic union by which the creature is made one with the Creator, or to the theory that such a union is possible. This conception of the unitive state, like the parallel doctrine of *Hulul*, *i.e.* the doctrine that the Creator becomes incarnate in the creature, is generally regarded by the Sufis as heretical, on the ground that it involves homogeneity and is therefore inconsistent with the true notion of the divine unity (*Tauhid*), which admits no real existence except that of God. *Ittihad*, thus understood, presupposes the existence of two things which are made one, whereas, according to the more orthodox mystics, human individuality is only a phenomenon that passes away in the one Eternal Reality (*fana fil haq*); sometimes the term *Ittihad* is employed like the Sufistic *Wahdat* or *Tauhid*, in reference to the doctrine that all things are non-existent in themselves, but derive their existence from God and in this respect, are one with God." [Abdur Razzaq al-Kashi : *Al-istilahat al-Sufiya*, Ed. by Sprenger, p. 5. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 565.)]
2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 421-23.

al Shaitan and *Haqiqat Mazhab al-ittihadin* contain the salient features of his polemics.[1]

One of his disciples, Abdul Aziz Ardweli—*Faqih* and *Muhaddis*, who was also educated by several other eminent scholars in Damascus, reached India in the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq. He highly impressed the Sultan by quoting some traditions of the Prophet in praise of the Abbasids and their successors. The Sultan kissed his feet,[2] perhaps in gratitude for his eulogies of the Abbasids, to whom the Sultan those days professed great devotion for political reasons. Ibn Battuta nowhere indicates whether Abdul Aziz Ardweli mentioned Ibn Taimiya's teachings to the Sultan or influenced his policy in any other way, as some modern scholars seek to establish.[3]

The most effective refutation of the pantheistic doctrines was made by Rukn ud-Din Abul Makarim Ahmad b. Sharaf ud-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Beejabanki popularly known as Ala ud-Daula Simnani. He was born in Zilhijja 659/November 1261 in Simnan (Khurasan), and

1. *cf.* Muhammad Yusuf Kaukan Umri : *Imam Ibn i-Taimiya* (Urdu Madras, 1959), pp. 264-364.
2. Defremery : *Voyages d'Ibn Batutah*, Vol. III, p. 259.
3. S. M. Ikram and Sh. A. Rashid : *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Lahore, 1962), p. 93. Mr. K. A. Nizami says : "His (Ibn Taimiya's) influence reached India through his pupil, Imam Abdul Aziz Ardweli, who visited the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq and impressed him so deeply that he kissed his feet. It was probably under his influence that Muhammad bin Tughluq adopted a policy of hostility towards the mystics and sought to change their character and ideology completely." (K. A. Nizami : *Introduction to Khair ul-Majalis*, p. 29). Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq extended courtesy and patronage lavishly to all the foreign scholars. Ibn Battuta had mentioned a number of scholars who reaped the benefits of Sultan's munificence. The scholars included philosophers too, like Shams ud-Din Andikani. (*Voyages d' Ibn Batutah*, Vol. III, p. 253). Abdul Aziz seems to have exploited Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq's credulity regarding Abbasids to his advantage. To ascribe Muhammad b. Tughluq's policy of alleged hostility towards the mystics and his attempts to change their character to the influence of Abdul Aziz Ardweli is too much of a conjecture. The Sultan's policy of strictness towards Sufis, saint worship and other beliefs, which they held, is ascribed by Barani to the influence of philosophers and logicians. Moreover, amongst those who suffered under the Sultan, there were Alims and Saiyids too. They were never included by Ibn Taimiya in his programme of reform. This hostility of the Sultan has been ascribed by Gesu Daraz to the Sultan's project of founding a new religion. (*Jawami ul-Kilam*, British Museum Mss., f. 141b).

entered the service of Ilkhan Arghun (683-690/1284-1291) at the age of fifteen under whom his father and uncles held offices of importance and distinction. Under the spell of a mystic trance in 683/1284, he began to devote most of his time to prayers and other religious pursuits ; he gave up the Government service in the middle of Shaban 685/beginning of October, 1286 and settled down in Simnan. After a life of extensive religious and literary activities he breathed his last in his *khanqah* of Sufiyabad i-Khudadad in Simnan on 22 Rajab, 736/6 March, 1336.[1]

He was a prolific author and himself claims to have blackened one thousand *tabaq* (sheets?) for the sake of *tasawwuf*.[2] He was an inveterate opponent of Ibn Arabi's pantheistic theosophy. He believed that none of the followers of different creeds and sects had previously expressed his ideas with such ignominy. "If it is thoroughly explored" he remarked, "it would appear that the creeds of the worshippers of physical objects and atheists are better than most of the beliefs of these people."[3] According to him the goal of union with Reality (*fana fil Haq*) which the pantheists cherished was a very low order of *Mukashifa* (mystic revelation), in fact one of the earliest stages in the mystic journey. He wrote to Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq Kashi,[4] an enthusiastic protagonist of Ibn Arabi's doctrines, that in the initial stages of his mystic practices he was able to acquire all that was regarded most perfect by the pantheists, that it appeared highly attractive to him, but that he soon was able to proceed further. "When I passed beyond the early and

1. Ala ud-Daula Simnani : *Al-Urwa li Ahl al-Khalwa* (Rieu Supp. Mss. No. 19), ff. 129a-170b ; Iqbal b. Sabiqi-Sistani : *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis* or *Malfuzat Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani* (British Museum Mss. Or. 9725), ff. 63a-65b; Jami : *Nafhat ul-Uns* (Calcutta, 1859), pp. 504-10 ; Daulat Shah b. Ala ud-Daula Samarqandi : *Tazkirat ush-Shuara* (London, 1901), pp. 251-52 ; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IA (London, 1960), pp. 346-47.
2. Ala ud-Daula : *Miftah* quoted in *Tazkirat ush-Shuara*, p. 251. For his Arabic works *cf*. Brockelmann, II, p. 263 wherein a list of eleven works by him is given, and Brockelmann Supplement, Vol. II, p. 281.
3. *Maktubat i-Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq Kashi* (Ethe, 1835), ff. 311a-311b ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, p. 557.
4. Abd ur-Razaq Kamal ud-Din b. Abdul Ghanaim al-Kashani (*d*. 730/1329) wrote a large number of works to popularise the doctrines of Ibn Arabi. Of his works, so far published, the most popular is *Istilahat al-Sufiya* or *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Sufis*, published by Sprenger at Calcutta in 1845 ; *Nafhat ul-Uns* deals with his controversy on *Wahdat ul-Wujud* with Ala ud-Daula Simnani in full and reproduces his letter and that of Ala ud-Daula (pp. 557-58). [*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I (1960), pp. 90-92.]

middle stages of *Mukashifa* to its final stage," says he, "the errors of the earlier stages became clearer than the sun to me." He compared the early stages of mystic revelations to nuts and raisins which were offered to the children to make schools more attractive to them.[1] Giving an account of the mystic revelations experienced by his own self he says, "When I stepped into the final stage of *Mukashifa*, the breeze of *Haqq ul-Yaqin*[2] began to blow and the mist of *Maarif* (gnosis) relating to the earlier stages vanished. The fruits of *Haqq ul-Yaqin* appeared out of the skin of the *Ain ul-Yaqin*. *Ilm i-Mujarrad* (purified knowledge) which amounts to the firm belief (in religion) belongs only to the *Shariat*."[3] "The traveller on the right path should not hanker after the proofs of the existence of the Being.[4] Creation is a gift of the Almighty. *Mumkin ul-Wujud* (Contingent Being) can therefore in no circumstances be one with the Holy Being of *Wajib ul-Wujud* (Necessary Being). The *Malul* (effect) can never become the *Illat* (ultimate cause). It is impossible to become one with the *Zat u-Sifat*[5] (Being and Attributes). The most Holy God is the bestower of *Wujud* (existence) to all that is *Maujud* (existent). He manifests his *Zat* in the image of *Sifat* to those who seek to apprehend the Being and Attributes. Nothing possesses any existence beyond *Wajib ul-Wujud* and *Mumkin -ul-Wujud*. The belief of *Ittihad* is nothing but a *kufr*.[6] *Wujud i-Mutlaq* (Absolute Being) is a *fil* (an action or verb) of *Wujud i-Haq* (Ultimate Being) who is Eternal and Creator of the *Wujud i-Muqaiyida* (Non-absolute Being). The latter He created by His Will. The vast number of imageries, actions and self-contradictory attributes and innumerable names associated with Him cause no loss or damage to Him. Creation is a reflection and not a manifestation of the Divine Being and

1. *Maktubat i-Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq* (India Office Mss.), ff. 315b ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, p. 566.
2. *Yaqin* or certainty is divided into three categories :—
   "(*a*) *Ilm ul-Yaqin*, that which a man apprehends with his intellectual faculties.
   (*b*) *Ain-ul-Yaqin*, that which he sees with the eyes.
   (*c*) *Haqq ul-Yaqin*, that which he fully embraces with the heart ; the highest form of spiritual knowledge, especially of the Unity of God. (Hughes, T. P. : *A Dictionary of Islam*)."
3. *Maktubat i-Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq*, ff. 316a ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, p. 567.
4. Ala ud-Daula Simnani : *Al Urwa*, f. 5a.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 112b.
6. Ala ud-Daula Simnani : *Al-Urwa*, f. 112b.

that existence is separate from, and external to, essence.[1] The Divine Trust[2] which those inhabiting heavens and earth found themselves unable to bear is the secret of *Tauhid* which has nothing to do with *Ittihad* and *Hulul*. The *Jamal* (grace) of the *Zu'l Jalal* cannot be apprehended without that 'Trust'. Everyone who becomes a trustee of that 'Trust' is known as a possessor of *Rujuliyat* (manliness). He becomes entitled to receive the robes of *Bandigi* (devotion) only when he becomes firm in that. It leads him to the stage of *Ubudiyat* (servitude) which is the final stage of the Sufic development, indeed the hundredth."[3]

Thus his entire approach towards Being and Attributes was that of an orthodox theologian. According to him the *Quran* should be interpreted strictly in accordance with the point of view of the Ulama and *Imam i-Rabbani* (Godly *Imams*) and he paid no heed to the commentaries of the *Hukama* (philosophers) and *Mutakallimin* (scholastic theologians) who were under the corrupting influence of the intellect.[4] The validity of none of the Quranic verses could in any way be questioned and therefore a full command of *Haqiqat*, *Tariqat* and *Shariat* was indispensable. The *Hukama*, who, under the influence of Greek Philosophy criticised the Ulama, had gone astray. Ala ud-Daula had, therefore, to launch a tirade against his contemporaries, who compiled the commentaries on the *Quran* without possessing an orthodox-faith in the truth and the finality of the Book. They were, according to him, none but the anti-Christ, who, Prophet Muhammad foretold, were to appear at the close of the existence of the world.[5] The true knowledge in his view could be acquired only through strictly adhering to the laws of the *Sunnat* and the *Shariat*. Ignorance was better than the knowledge which one acquired without following the *Shariat*.[6] He had very explicitly written to Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Kashi

1. *Ibid.*, f. 25b-26a.
2. The verse of the *Quran* dealing with Trust is as follows :—
 "Surely We offered the 'Trust' to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to be unfaithful to it and feared from it, and man has turned unfaithful to it ; surely he is unjust, ignorant". (*Quran* XXXIII, 72).
3. *Urwa*, ff. 161b-165a ; *Maktubat i-Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq Kashi*, f. 316b ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, f. 568a.
4. *Urwa*, f. 101a.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 105b-109b.
6. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, f. 49a.

that he did not care for logical coherence in his arguments as long as he was satisfied that 'Satan' could not raise any objection to his approach.[1] He advised the Sufis not to fall a prey to the flowery speeches and idle talks of all sorts of Shaikhs and that they should not follow any one unless they found him firm in orthodox Sunni beliefs.[2]

He was vehemently opposed to Ibn Arabi's doctrine of saintship (*Wilayat*) which asserted that 'all Prophets are also saints, but that the saintly aspect of each Prophet is higher than the prophetic aspect'. He argued that the Prophets are commissioned to propagate the divine message and the Commandments and Prohibitions. They receive their powers direct from Almighty God without any intermediary. Prophethood is therefore superior to sainthood which is latent in the former. Every prophet is therefore a saint but every saint cannot become a prophet even if he were to acquire the status of a *Qutb*. Hence the status of a saint can in no circumstances be higher to that of a prophet.[3] He vehemently condemned those people who believed in the infallibility of the saints.[4]

He did not approve of the quiet and ascetic life of a Sufi. According to him the duties of a Sufi amounted to that of a preacher and a missionary of Islam.[5] He claims to have himself discussed the principles of transmigration of soul and *Nirvana* with a group of Buddhist monks at Sharuyaz where Arghun was camping, and to have exposed to them the follies of their beliefs. They, he reported, were so highly impressed with his discourse that they embraced Islam, though some of them, as he himself admits, apostatized even during the period of his stay there.[6] As a missionary he encouraged his contemporary Shaikhs to enrol as many disciples as possible quite indiscriminately. He compared the Sufi Shaikh with a fowler who could not expect always to catch a falcon in his net, yet who had to spread his net and wait for one.[7]

1. *Maktubat i-Shaikh Abd ur-Razzaq Kashi*, f. 315a ; *Nafhat ul-Uns*, p. 565.
2. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, f. 62b.
3. *Urwa*, ff. 118b-128b ; *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, ff. 57b-58b.
4. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, ff. 87a-87b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 41b.
6. *Urwa*, ff. 113a-115b.
7. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, ff. 62a-62b.

He did not see eye to eye with those who strove to effect some sort of a compromise between the *kafirs* and the Muslims and earnestly longed to engage himself in the battle with the unbelievers.[1] He greatly emphasised the importance of holding an official position as it provided ample opportunities to annihilate the innovators and heretics. In his old age he would repeatedly affirm that this conviction seized him at the fag end of his life; otherwise he would never have given up the service of his ruler but would have worshipped God, even attired in the robes of a noble.[2] He did not agree with those who argued that poverty was inalienable to being a true Sufi. He could cite instances of a large number of saints who rolled in wealth and left huge fortunes after their death, but whose eminence, nevertheless, was beyond reproach.[3]

He did not attach any importance to the miracles and supernatural feats of all those saints who did not believe in the Prophet in a formal orthodox manner. Those feats, according to him, were nothing but pious frauds and he held that those who performed them should be banished from the Muslim cities. Those who took to an ascetic life with a view to acquiring the power to perform miracles and supernatural feats were, in his opinion, not the true seekers after God. They were like labourers who worked only for wages.[4] He was highly dissatisfied with the ways of contemporary Muslims and religious guides. "These days the world is full of *Bidat* (innovation)", he said, "and the corrupt innovators appear attired in the garb of true guides and name aberrations as true guidance." The so-called 'ignorant Sufis' were the main target of his unremitting tirade ; they were probably none else but the pantheists whose ideology was so unpalatable to him. "No class is more misguided and a greater enemy (of Islam) than the ignorant Sufis. Each class of people in the world perform one thing or the other. Philosophers speak about the origin and nature of the Creation. Astronomers tell about heavenly bodies and constellations. *Faqihs* deal with different aspects of life *vis a vis* the *Shara*. If any of these commit mistakes, their consequences are confined to a limited group. If the philosophers err in finding out the origin of the creation, they

1. *Ibid.*, f. 52a.
2. *Tazkirat ush-Shuara*, p. 253.
3. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, ff. 78a-78b.
4. *Urwa*, f. 150 b.

may be accused of telling a lie regarding *Mumkinat* (contingent). If an astronomer commits a mistake he may be accused of being ignorant of the knowledge of heavenly bodies. If a *Faqih* errs, the greatest offence he may be held guilty of, consists in his declaring the unlawful as lawful. The consequences of the evils of a *Mufti* may remain confined to issuing an incorrect *fatwa*. The blunderings of the ignorant Sufis, however, materially affect the belief in *Zat* and *Sifat*. If some eminent saint makes some statement or expresses certain things capable of being interpreted in some other sense in a state of *Sukr* (mystic intoxication), but later on recants and seeks God's forgiveness, the ignorant Sufis generally do not take any cognizance of the recantation but stick to those aphorisms. 'Satan' inspires them to make further additions to those expressions. Without ascertaining the real sense of those aphorisms, they give publicity to them. In doing so their only aim is to declare themselves as Divine Beings."[1]

A large number of disciples and orthodox Sunnis rallied round Ala ud-Daula Simnani even during his life time. As they were missionaries too, they travelled the greater part of the Muslim world. A group reached India, where they held discussions with Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.[2] Shaikh Ala ud-Daula's works were a great source of inspiration to the orthodox Sunnis and narrow-minded Sufis. In popular mystic terminology his doctrines came to be known as *Wahdat ush-Shuhud* or *Tauhid i-Shuhudi* as opposed to the *Wahdat ul-Wujud* or the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* of Ibn Arabi. Both of these exercised such a tremendous influence on subsequent Sufic thought that the Sufi ideology came to be categorised as either the *Wujudi* or the *Shuhudi*. Sufis undoubtedly got themselves initiated in different *Silsilas* but most of them adhered either to the *Wujudi* or to the *Shuhudi* ideology. The members of any particular *Silsila* did not subscribe exclusively either to the *Shuhudi* or to the *Wujudi* ideology (except for the followers of the later *Naqshbandi Mujaddidi Silsila*); rather, there were people in each *Silsila* who adhered to one or the other point of view, while some tried to adopt a middle course which ultimately leaned towards the *Wujudi* doctrines.

1. *Iqbaliya* or *Chihil Majlis*, ff.75a-75b.

2. Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani : *Maktubat i-Ashrafi* (British Museum Mss. Or. 267), Letter No. 6 to Qazi Atan, f. 20a ; *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, f. 216 a.

In India the pantheistic doctrines of Ibn Arabi in their philosophical form gained popularity rather late but monism in its various forms was the basis of the Sufic thoughts of the Suhrawardis as well as of the Chishtis. On account of the influence of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya, a controversy could not be touched off in India, for, the devotional approach of Nizam ud-Din Auliya regarding the doctrines of *Wujud* was not basically different from the speculative one of Ibn Arabi. However, Fakhr ud-Din Ibrahim of Hamadan, popularly known by his *takhallus* 'Iraqi' did not fail to inform Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Arif, the successor of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya, regarding the divine mysteries which were revealed to him through the study of Ibn Arabi's works under Shaikh Sadr ud-Din of Quniya.[1] From the very beginning Iraqi was imbued with Divine love and saw "in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty", so much so that when he reached Multan to sit at the feet of Baha ud-Din Zakariya, a storm of opposition soon gathered round him. But Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya[2] not only clothed him in his own *khirqa* (Darwesh's cloak) but also gave his daughter to him in marriage. Iraqi lived with the Shaikh for

1. *Siyar ul-Arifin*, p. 109.
2. *Of* Baha ud-Din Zakaria; he says:
"If thou shouldst ask of the world 'who is guide of man?' thou wilt hear from heaven no other answer than 'Zakariya'." "Soon after his arrival there the discipline of *Chilla* or forty days' retirement and meditation was imposed upon him, but on the tenth day the other *dervishes* came to the Shaikh and complained that instead of meditating in silence he was singing a *ghazal* or ode which he had composed, and which in the course of a few days was in the mouths of all the revellers in the city, who were singing it in the taverns to the accompaniment of the harp and zither."

نخستین باده کاندر جام کردند – زچشم مست ساقی وام کردند

"The wine wherewith the cup they first filled high, was borrowed from the Saqi's languorus eye". [Browne : *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 125-26.] The last two verses of the *ghazal* are as follow :

بعالم هرکجا دردوغمی بود – بهم کردند وعشقش نام کردند
چو خود کردند راز خویشتن فاش – عراقی راچرا بدنام کردند

"Where'er in all the world is grief and gall
They mix them up, the mixture 'love' they call,
Why should they seek to hurt Iraqi's fame,
Since they themselves their secrets thus proclaim?"
(*Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.)

twenty-five years but had to leave Multan as the other disciples of Baha ud-Din could not tolerate his antinomianism. At Qonya (Iconium) he attended the lectures of the celebrated Shaikh Sadr ud-Din of that city on the *Fusus* of Ibn Arabi and composed his most celebrated work, the *Lamaat*[1] (*Flashes* or *Effulgences*), which was submitted to the Shaikh and which won his approval. From Asia Minor, Iraqi left for Egypt and after a short stay proceeded on to Syria, where his son, Kabir ud-Din, born of the daughter of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya, joined him from India. There Iraqi died on 8 Ziqada, 688/23 November, 1289.[2] His poetry, which left an indelible impression on Iran, could not leave the mystics in India as well as the poets unaffected. Though Iraqi himself did not return to Multan, his *Lamaat*, a copy of which he sent to Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Arif[3] and its commentary by the celebrated mystic and poet Nur ud-Din Abdur-Rahman Jami (*d.* 18 Muharram, 898/9 November, 1492) entitled *Ashiat ul-Lamaat*[4] continued to inspire the Indian Sufis with the Divine bliss which the doctrine of Ibn Arabi promised. Saiyid Sadr ud-Din Ahmad Najm ud-Din Harawi popularly known as Saiyid Husaini, the author of *Nuzhat ul-Arwah*, *Tarab ul-Majalis*, *Zad ul-Musafirin* and *Kanz ur-Rumuz*, works which exercised profound influence on the thinking of Indian Sufis, was also a contemporary of Iraqi and an eminent disciple of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya.

Among the Indian Sufis and scholars of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, whose ideas and works in support of the pantheistic mysticism of Ibn Arabi made deep impressions on the minds of the contemporary and later Muslims, as well as on a section of Hindus,

1. Regrading the importance of the *Lamaat* of Iraqi, see Jami's introductory remarks to his commentary of the *Lamaat*, entitled *Ashiat ul-Lamaat*. "Therein, in pleasant phrases and with charming allusions he flung together jewels of verse and prose and mingled aphorisms Arabic and Persian from which the signs of learning and wisdom were apparent and in which the lights of taste and ecstasy were manifest, such as might awaken the sleeper, render him who is awakened cognizant of the mysteries, kindle the fire of Love and put in motion the chain of longing." [Browne, E. G. : *A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 446.]
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28 ; *cf. Siyar ul-Arifin*, pp. 107-110.
3. *Siyar ul-Arifin*, p. 109.
4. Jami also wrote *Naqd un-Nasus*, a commentary on the *Fusus ul-Hikam* of Ibn Arabi.

who had started studying Muslim religious works and mystic thoughts seriously, were Jafar-i-Makki, Masud Bak, Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari and Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Saiyid Muhammad b. Nasir ud-Din Jafar Makki al-Husaini was an eminent *Khalifa* of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chiragh of Dihli.[1] He served his preceptor with utmost devotion and humility, though at that time his father was the *Muqta* of Khambayat and had one thousand and three hundred horsemen under him.[2] He lived from the time of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351) to that of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (854-894/1450-1489) and lived to be more than hundred years of age. He had travelled far and wide round the contemporary Muslim world and had come in contact with a large number of eminent Sufis. He had also seen thousands of other followers of different creeds and religious systems. He seems to have been amused to find that all of them claimed that their's was the only perfect religion in the world.[3] He possessed a broad outlook on the problems of life and attached no importance to the barren dialectic of the theologians and their dogmatic beliefs. He did not minimise the importance of the observance of the *Shariat*, adherence to the Commandments and shunning the Prohibitions, for the beginners who aspired to set out on the mystic path ; but that was only the primary stage.[4] He emphasised only the esoteric aspects of *Salat* (prayer), *Saum* (fasts) *Zakat* (alms) and *Haj* (pilgrimage). He argued that "*Namaz* is undoubtedly a pillar of the faith but it cannot be performed without ablution, the first stage of which relates to washing the limbs of body either by water or by earth, but whose second stage belongs to the ablution of the inner self from the vices, *e.g.*, lust, envy, pride, avarice etc. The *Namaz* can be acceptable to the Almighty only on the condition that the second form of ablution is also performed in a most perfect manner.[5]" The religion which he emphasised was that of the

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 136.
2. Jafar i-Makki : *Bahr ul-Maani*, Letter No. 24 dated 2 Zilhijja 824/28 November, 1421 (Ethe 1867 I. O. 1545), f. 138a ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 139-40.
3. *Bahr ul-Maani*, Letter No. 28 dated 23 Zilhijja 824/19 December, 1421 (I. O.1545), f. 163b, (Ihtishamiya Press), p. 187.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 1 dated 10 Safar 824/14 February, 1421 (I. O. 1545), f. 2b, (Ihtishamiya Press), p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 2 dated 5 Rabi I 824/10 March, 1421 (I. O. 1545), f. 5a, (Ihtishamiya Press), p. 5.

devotional love of God. The divine love to him was a God sent gift which could be sought only through ardent prayers and devotion. The distinction between the lover and the beloved indicated only the initial stage of the love." "In the final stage of love, lover and beloved" said he, "cannot be discriminated at all. Perfect union is then exhibited." "The lovers of Almighty God do not follow the creeds of Abu Hanifa and Shafii, etc. but they adhere to the religion and creed of the Divine Love. Their faith is confined to the earnest attempt to obtain the vision of God.[1]" *Kufr* and Islam both seemed to him as veils between God and His worshippers. A hero amongst the seekers of Divine Being, according to him, was one who was neither a *kafir* nor a Muslim. "As long as you remain entangled with the problems of *kufr* and faith," said he, "you are bound to remain covered under these two veils. But if you become a lover, *kufr* and faith would run after you and go on searching you, but would not find you anywhere."[2]

He did not leave the topic of *kufr* undefined. Formal *kufr* was indeed the denial or rejection of the *Shara* but the real *kufr* belonged to the worship of *Nafs* (lower or appetitive soul). The followers of formal religion, according to him, followed the second type of *kufr*.[3] Thus proselytising efforts of the Muslims were of little importance to him. He held that there were five reasons which led the people to embrace Islam : (1) fear of death, (2) fear of their families being enslaved, (3) propagation (of Islam) on the part of Muslims, (4) the lust of obtaining *mawajib* (pensions or rewards) and *ghanaim* (booty), and (5) *taasub* (bigotry or superstitions) of the religions of their forefathers. None of those who thus embraced Islam was interested in *Akhirat* (invisible world) and was devoid of righteousness. Those who acquired the knowledge of *Fiqh* were, in his estimation, motivated solely by the prospect of material gain and the acquisition of worldly fame. They thus followed nothing but *Mazhab i-Taqlid* (religious show, without real piety)[4] which had no value for those who yearned for a higher spiritual life.

1. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 8 dated 27 Shaban, 824/27 August, 1421 (I. O. 1545), ff. 35a-35b, (Ihtishamiya Press), pp. 38-39.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 8 (I. O. 1545), f. 37a, (Ihtishamiya Press), p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 19 dated 9 Ziqada 824/5 November, 1421 (I. O. 1545), f. 109b, (Ihtishamiya Press), pp. 124-25.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 28 dated 23 Zilhijja 824/19 December, 1421 (I. O. 1545), f. 162b, (Ihtishamiya Press), p. 186.

In poetry, pantheistic ideas were preached with great exuberance by Ahmad b. Mahmud Nakhshabi Sher Khan (*d.* 800/1397-98) popularly known as Masud Bak, who was said to have been a relation of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. The former had, under a fit of mystic ecstasy, renounced his worldly riches. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi says, "Among the Chishtis, no one has spoken of the secrets of Truth in such an open and unguarded manner, and no one was so given to mystic intoxication (*masti*) as Masud Bak was."[1] His verses[2] continued to be quoted, as an authentic expression of pantheistic mysticism, in letters to Shaikh Muhammad Masum, the son of Mujaddid Alf i-Sani.[3] His prose work on Sufism entitled *Mirat ul-Arifin*[4] contains a clear exposition of the pantheistic doctrines after Ibn Arabi. It is divided into fourteen *Kashfs* (revelations) each followed by a *Nuktah* (mystical signification), preceded by a *Muqaddama* (introduction) and closed with a *Khatima* (conclusion). The significance of *Wujud*, *Tauhid*, *Marifat* (gnosis), *Sahw* (sobriety), *Sukr* (mystic intoxication), Union with God, spirit, mystic intoxication and *Mabda* (first production, creation), *Maad* (resurrection) and the real significance of *Wilayat*[5] have been dealt with in it, at some length.[6] Other works of Masud Bak, are *Umm un-Nasaib* and *Tamhidat*[7], an imitation of Ain ul-Quzat's work of the same title.[8]

He seems to have acquired a thorough grounding in the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* through the *Lamaat* of Fakhr ud-Din Iraqi and the works of

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 169 ; Muhammad Sadiq : *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani* (I. O. 1673), ff. 28a-29a.
2. رفت زمسعودبک جملهٔ صفات بشر – او که همان ذات بود بازهمان ذات شد
3. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, Vol. II, (Kanpur), Letter No. 50. Masud's *Diwan* of lyrical poems is known as *Nur ul-Yaqin* (Rieu : *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* II, 632) or *Nur ul-Uyun* (A. Sprenger : *Catalogue*, p. 486). For the popularity of his *Diwan* see, Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh : *Lataif i-Quddusi*, p. 9.
4. Ethe, p. 1854.
5. *cf.* the verse :

مانسخهٔ محمد مرسل فتادہ ایم – زیرا که هرولی ست بدین نسخه نبی

6. *cf.* *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 169-72.
7. A similar work on the Sufic doctrine was compiled by Abul Fazail Abdullah b. Muhammad al-Miyanaji, known as Ain ul-Quzat of Hamadan, who was a pupil of Shaikh Ahmad Ghazzali (the brother of Muhammad Ghazzali, *d.* 517/1123-24) and put to death in 533/1138-39 by order of Sultan Sanjar's *wazir*, Qiwam ud-Din Abul Qasim Darguzini. (Ethe, 1793).
8. Ethe, 1854.

Ain ul-Quzat Hamadani. Like all the followers of the pantheistic mysticism he wrote, "*Shariat* is learning, *Tariqat* is burning and *Haqiqat* is illuminating. First of all a seeker should acquire the knowledge of *Shariat* ; later on he should burn himself on the path of *Tariqat* and finally kindle the lamp of *Haqiqat* and shut his eyes from his own self." He likened the *Shariat* to a mirror which was made for seeing the 'Divine Beauty'. *Tariqat* he likened to the silvering without which a piece of glass could not be used as a mirror. He, therefore, concluded that "nothing can be gained from *Shariat* without striving hard on the path of *Tariqat*." He compared the *Haqiqat* to 'Divine Beauty' itself and summed up, "As the existence of a mirror depends upon silvering, in the same manner is the *Shariat* related to the *Haqiqat* through the *Tariqat*."[1]

According to him, "a true seeker is one who does not dabble in religious squabbles of the seventy-two sects and considers them all to be the same.[2] A religion of love was not preached by any of the four great founders of different schools of jurisprudence.[3] The seekers were therefore advised by him to hold fast to the instructions of the *Pir* even if they seemed opposed to the *Shariat*, for the seeker was concerned with his *Pir* and had nothing to do with either the *kufr* or the faith. "Verily" said he, "the seeker is concerned with his goal and has nothing to do with the faith. His faith is nothing but that which takes him to his goal and liberates him from the shackles of 'self-conceit'. The *kufr* is that which holds him back from achieving his goal and binds him with the chain of 'self conceit', which is worse than idol worship."[4] By all the names only one 'Named One' is meant and in all the forms only One face is hidden. In all the religions only one Path is concealed. If that Reality were somehow manifested through the existing forms, all the different religions would appear alike."[5] The main duty of a seeker was therefore to earnestly search for a true guide who might have attained the 'Divine Reality'. Without him no success was possible and seekers were not to rest content unless they had discovered such a guide.

1. Masud i-Bak : *Mirat ul-Arifin* (Ethe 1854, I. O. 2307), f. 2b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 156a.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 157b.
4. *Mirat ul-Arifin*, f. 159b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 160a.

The efforts of Shaikh Sharf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Manyari, who was born in Manyar, a village near Patna, to popularise the pantheistic doctrines of Ibn Arabi were far-reaching in consequence. He originally set out from his village to Delhi with a view to entering the discipleship of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya but when he reached Delhi, the Shaikh had already passed away. He, therefore, became the disciple of Shaikh Najib ud-Din, an eminent saint of Firdausi order. On his way back to Manyar he performed, for quite a long time, severe ascetic exercises in a forest which lay on the route to Agra.[1] His discourses on Sufism entitled *Madan ul-Maani*[2] were composed between 749 and 751/1348-1350. His fame, however, rests on the large number of letters,[3] that he wrote to his contemporary saints, his disciples and Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. They cover a very wide range of pantheistic doctrines. They clearly bring out the distinction between, and relative importance of, *Shariat*, *Tariqat*, *Haqiqat*, the esoteric approach to the Islamic rituals and forms of prayers, fastings, pilgrimage, asceticism and renunciation.

Laws of *Shariat*, according to him, were elastic and the convenience of Muslims was never to be thrown overboard. Unless something went strictly against the injunction of the *Quran*, the problems confronting the contemporary Muslims were to be interpreted from a practical standpoint.[4] He took a sympathetic view of the practices prevalent amongst the Muslims and did not condemn them for the mere want of previous sanction of some authority. He advised his disciples to refrain from the practices which they did not approve of, but they were not required to compel others to give them up.[5] All sorts of traditions ascribed to the Prophet were not readily believed by him[6]. The betterment of the

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 118.
2. This is a collection of Shaikh Sharf ud-Din's discourses on Sufism. The work was compiled between 15 Shaban, 749/18 November, 1348 and Shawwal, 751/ December, 1350. (Ethe : Bodleian Library *Catalogue* No. 1263).
3. A collection of one hundred letters written by him was made in 747/1346-47 by one of his disciples, Zain Badr Arabi, and contains letters addressed to his pupil and friend, Qazi Shams ud-Din, Governor of the Township of Jausa (Chausa). (Ethe, 1843). A second collection of 151 letters of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Manyari was made by the same Zain Badr Arabi in 769/ 1367-68. These are addressed to a number of Shaikhs. (Ethe, 1844).
4. *Madan ul-Maani* (Bodleian 1263), ff. 10b-12b.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 74a-b.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 51b.

lot of the Muslims was to be given preference over prayers and fasting.[1] He did not fail to recognise the eminence of yogis and their achievements in the field of ascetic exercises.[2]

According to him, *Shariat*, *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat* were inalienable and interdependent. The revelation of *Haqiqat* did not absolve the seekers of the obligations of *Shariat*. "The road to *Tauhid*, which in fact is the religion of 'real men' (*mardan*)" said he, "is a circumambient ocean. Wisdom and knowledge are drowned there. How can one go to it or talk of it"[3] What he greatly stressed upon was poverty and renunciation. Even the knowledge, the acquisition of which was indispensable for the proper discharge of the obligations to the *Shariat*, was looked down upon by him, if it was made a source of obtaining access to the doors of kings and nobles and a means of being raised to the post of a *Qazi* or a *Mufti*[4]. When he was informed that one of his friends, Maulana Sadr ud-Din, had accepted the post of Deputy *Qazi*, he vehemently disapproved of his action and wrote to him that he was going to be fifty or sixty years old. He should give up posts like that of *Qazi* or teacher, burn all his books and papers and renounce the world ; for, *Marifat* could be sought nowhere else but in renunciation. He likened important Government posts to a Brahminical thread made of steel—the main impediment to the acquisition of true religion.[5] In another letter to one Maulana Hamid ud-Din, he compared official positions to the idols and material prosperity to the Brahminical thread. According to him, *Nafs* (the lower or appetitive soul) was the mightiest of all the *kafirs*[6] and he ridiculed those who sought to annihilate the non-believers by the sword.[7] Like Masud i-Bak, he too emphasised that the real war was to be waged against the *Nafs*. He said that if a Sufi believed that he was superior to Firaun, even to the extent of an atom, he was nothing but an arrogant fool. "Even if a hair breadth of *Nafs* remains in a Sufi, he is likely to be

1. *Ibid.*, f. 31a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 72a.
3. *Maktubat Sadi, Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari* (Arrah, 1287/1870), Letter No. 23, p. 77.
4. *Maktubat Ahmad b. Yahya Manyari* (Ethe 1844, I. O. 393), Letter No. 2, f. 11a.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 46, f. 103a.
6. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 58, f. 123b.
7. *Ibid.*, Letter Nos. 18, 84. ff. 60b-61a, 159b.

engrossed in *kufr* and *shirk*."[1] In another letter he wrote, 'Oh brother ! Almighty God does not receive perfection or grace from the faith or devotion of any one ; nor is any damage or loss done to Him on account of one's *kufr* and sins. It is in this sense that the *kufr* and faith are called alike and it is on account of this that it is remarked that if the entire world were to become *Kaba*, and all the *Jinns* (a kind of spirit) and human beings were to become Namrud and Firaun, He would in no way be affected".[2] Yahya Manyari, therefore, advised the Sufis to give up all the ideas relating to miracles, mystic revelation, etc., as they were perverse and amounted to lunacy. They should keep on weeping and wailing all day and night like repentant sinners. They should attribute virtues to others and vices to their own selves. They must consider others deserving of promises etc., which they come across in the *Quran* and *Hadis*, and should take only threats as their own lot.[3] "What type of Muslims are these" said he, "who are neither true to the people nor to God? Neither are they among those who invoke God nor among those who inhabit the tavern. This is a mere confusion, not the Islam. A self-conceited one cannot worship God at all."[4]

Like many of his predecessors and successors he was highly dissatisfied with the religious and spiritual attainments of his contemporaries. "These days faith is scarce in the world", said he, "and the faithful have become rare as philosophers' stone. Islam was poor in the beginning and will ultimately again become so.[5]" Pseudo-Pirs and *Ulma i-Duniya* both were the targets of his tirade. In a letter he wrote, "The world, these days, has become full of *Pirs* and *Murids* (preceptors and disciples) and the process will go on increasing till the Day of Judgment has arrived."[6] In another letter he wrote that if an individual took it into his head to call himself a Shaikh, he was bound to attract a number of disciples. Some arrogated to themselves the title of *Malik ul-Mashaikh* (the chief of the *Shaikhs*) others that of *Qutb ul-Auliya* (pole amongst the saints) while hardly any one understood the true

1. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 9, ff. 33b-34a.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 8, f. 31a.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 9, ff. 31b-32a.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 111, f. 196a.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter Nos. 103, 123, ff. 185b, 208b.
6. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 14, f. 47b.

spirit of Islam.[1] In such a state of confusion if anyone was able to keep his faith unpolluted he was regarded by him as Junaid and Shibli of his times. All further discussions in the matter were taken by him as nonsense.[2] He defined the *Ulama i-Duniya* as those who ate the bread of the sultans, made the doors of the sultans and the nobles as their *Qibla* (that part to which people direct their prayers) and associated themselves with their worldly pursuits.[3] He would quote the following anecdote in his letters to illustrate his conclusions. A Darvish saw a 'devil' sitting idle. He asked him why. The devil replied, "The *Ulama i-Duniya* have appeared and no work is left for me".[4]

These remarks, in which the letters of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari abound, do not, however, give any objective picture of the religious life of the contemporaries of the Shaikh ; rather, they employ the devices of the Sufis and Muslim devotees of almost all ages whereby they sought to instill the importance of piety and unworldliness into the minds of their contemporaries : condemning their activities and reminding them to keep in view the ideal of spiritual perfection which was said to have been attained during the times of the Prophet and his Companions. It is the outcome of the same psychology which popularised the traditions regarding the appearance of Mahdi. The following anecdote which Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari quoted to illustrate his standpoint confirms the above conclusion. Khwaja Hasan Basri was asked by someone to relate something about the Companions of the Prophet. He replied, "They were such that had you seen them, you might have described them as lunatics, while had they seen you people, they would have called you as devils." Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din drew the moral from this anecdote that when the state of affairs was such in the days of Khwaja Hasan Basri, which was so near the age of the Companions of the Prophet, what could be told of his own times.[5]

The task of defending Ibn Arabi's philosophy against the attacks of the Ulama and Sufis, and of reconciling the conflicting views of Ibn

1. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 94, f. 175a.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 103, f. 187.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 49, f. 109a.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 2, f. 11b; for a criticism of *Ulma i-Duniya*, *cf. Madan ul-Maani*, ff. 49b.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 103, f. 185b.

Arabi with those of Ala ud-Daula Simnani, and their respective supporters with each other, fell on Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (*d. ca.* 840/1346). He belonged to Simnan and travelling to distant places in the company of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani (*d.* 6 Zilhijja, 786/ 18 January, 1685) he ultimately reached Bengal where he became the disciple of Shaikh Ala ul-Haq Bangali (*d.* 800/1398); he finally settled down in Kichaucha (Faizabad District, U. P.), where he is buried. In India, he had to face the opposition of Qazi Shihab ud-Din Daulatabadi[1] who assailed Ibn Arabi's doctrines from the theologians' point of view and that of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz[2], who condemned it from the stand-point of the Sufis. He faced the situation most tactfully and did not antagonise any of them. He attributed the hostility of the Sufis towards the doctrines of Ibn Arabi to expediency and emphasised that all the eminent Sufis held no other creed but the one propagated by Ibn Arabi.[3] He stressed that an adequate acquaintance with the technical terms used by the Sufis was indispensable for a proper understanding of their doctrines. He himself compiled *Basharat ul-Ikhwan*, *Fawaid ul-Ashraf* and *Basharat uz-Zakirin* for the use of the common people. Likewise, he compiled *Mirat ul-Haqaiq* and *Kanz ud-Daqaiq*, which discussed the subject from the standpoint of the specialists.[4] *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, compiled by his disciple Nizam ud-Din Yamani, is a mine of information regarding pantheistic mysticism; it seeks to reconcile the doctrine of Ibn Arabi with Muslim orthodoxy[5]. The collection of his letters, too, is an important aid from this point of view. In all of his works he has profusely drawn upon the works of Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Qunawi and Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Kashi. He had considerable influence with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi[6] and Sultan Hoshang of Malwa.[7]

1. *Maktubat i-Ashrafi* (British Museum Manuscript Or. 267), Letter No. 22 to Qazi Shihab ud-Din Daulatabadi.
2. *Ibid.*, ff. 67b.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 23, f. 49a ; *cf. Latifa* VII in *Lataif i-Ashrafi* (Bankipur XVI, No. 1368), ff. 114a-133b.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 19, f. 44a.
5. *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, *Latifa* 19, ff. 240b-246b.
6. *Maktubat i-Ashrafi*, Letter Nos. 23, 24, ff. 548b; Letter No. 45.
7. Letter No. 28. The letter deals with the principles of Government at some length, ff. 58a-63a.

Of the early Indian Sufis who launched a tirade against the teachings of Ibn Arabi, the most eminent was Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, son of Saiyid Yusuf Husaini, known as 'Saiyid Raja'. After receiving immense popularity in the Deccan, he died on 16 Ziqada, 825/1 November, 1422) at the age of 105 (lunar years). He was one of the leading disciples of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi probably refers to his anti-Wujidi tendencies, so amazing on the part of an eminent Chishti saint, in the following words, "Amongst Chishtis he possessed a peculiar style of expressing the truth."[1] Since the entire framework of the Chishti discipline under which he worked throughout his life was *Wujudi*, his criticisms were later on glossed over by asserting that he only sought to criticise those expressions of Ibn Arabi which were obnoxious to the orthodox. However, he categorically condemned the works of Ibn Arabi, Farid ud-Din Attar and Jalal ud-Din Rumi as deceitful and their authors as the enemies of Islam.[2] Once in Delhi Qazi Adam who possessed a copy of the *Futuhat i-Makkiya* asked Gesu Daraz to express his opinion on the work. Maulana Nasir ud-Din Thaneswari and Khwaja Ahmad were also present. Gesu Daraz at first avoided speaking on the subject but when he was pressed to do so he did not refrain from expressing his honest opinion which certainly did not please them but they could utter nothing.[3]

Refuting the point of view of Ibn Arabi and Fakhr ud-Din Iraqi regarding *Wujud i-Mutlaq*, he says, "I have protested (against these views) many a time and at many a place. He is beyond the Beyond. All that exists is a gift of the Almighty and not He. Much can be said on this topic but with the ignorant ones silence is better."[4] He advised the Sufis that in no circumstance should the obligations of the *Shariat* be ignored. Mansur al-Hallaj, despite mystic intoxication and lunacy, had performed a hundred *rakats* (genuflexions) of *Namaz* before he was brought to the gallows.[5] Like Ala ud-Daula Simnani, he emphasised that the status of a prophet was higher than that of a saint, for the latter was commissioned to propagate the divine mission ; no matter

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 169.
2. *Maktubat i-Gisu Daraz* (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Ivanow 1232), f. 19a.
3. *Jawami ul-Kilam* (British Museum Mss. Or. 252), f. 70a.
4. Gesu Daraz : *Asmar ul-Asrar* (Ethe 1861, I. O. 2167), f. 22b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 58a.

if a saint had acquired a state of nearness to God and *Marifat* and attained the secrets of *Wahdat*. He regarded the *Maarif* and the subtle points of the pantheists as amounting to infidelity and heresy. He claimed to have obtained light from the lamp in the niche of Mustafa (Prophet Muhammad) and to have gained silvering from the mirror of Murtaza (Ali); therefore he found all the works of Muslim philosophers and the writings of authors like Ibn Arabi superfluous.[1]

No mention of proselytising activities on the part of the Chishti saints is made in the earlier authentic *Malfuzats*. But Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz claimed to have held many discussions with Brahmins and tried to convert them to Islam.[2] In this too, he seems to have been inspired by the *Chihil Majlis*, *Al-Urwa* and the disciples of Ala ud-Daula Simnani who had visited his *khanqah*[3]. However, the framework of the Chishti traditions was too strong for him to break and he could not give up that humane approach which was the cardinal point of the popularity of the Chishtis. He encouraged friendly relations between the followers of all the religions and declared, "If you want to have friends you should address everyone in a most cordial manner." He quoted the following anecdote to strengthen his point. One day Maulana Jamal ud-Din and his friend Ala ud-Din and Maulana Sadr ud-Din, the physician, were sitting together. A Hindu physician, Bihtu by name, came to Maulana Jamal ud-Din. During the conversation Maulana Sadr ud-Din incidently said, "*Abe* (you rascal!) Bihtu!" Maulana Jamal ud-Din retorted, "Oh Maulana! What does *Abe* mean?" Maulana Sadr ud-Din said, "It is used on account of his being Hindu." Maulana Jamal ud-Din said, "He may be a Hindu but why do you let loose your tongue?"[4] Similarly he could not give up the practice of *Sama* and

1. Gesu Daraz : *Istiqamat ush-Shariat* (Ethe 1862, I. O. 2090), f. 3b.

2. He says that many a time Hindu priests came to him and they entered into a religious discussion after taking a solemn vow that whoever was beaten in the discussion would adopt the faith of the victorious one. Gesu Daraz claims that he was acquainted with the religious works of Hindus written in Sanskrit and beat them on their own ground but each time the Hindu priests cunningly put forward one or the other excuse and did not embrace Islam. (*Jawami ul-Kilam*, ff. 87a-90a).

3. *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, f. 216 a.

4. *Jawami ul-Kilam*, ff. 137b-138a.

could not even check the recital of Hindawi songs[1] though he tried his best to reform and reconcile it to the *Shara*.[2]

Like other Muslims he too was highly dissatisfied with his contemporary religious and spiritual environment, and the sincere quest for a true spiritual life was regarded by him as scarce in his days. He reports that Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh of Dihli was also highly critical of the worldliness of his contemporaries, so Gesu Daraz found nothing to hope for in his own days.[3] About eight centuries had elapsed since the time of the Prophet by then. The only course of emancipation from this impasse, that presented itself to him, lay in dissociating himself both from al-Shaikh ul-Unani (Plotinus) and Shaikh i-Akbar[4] Ibn ul-Arabi.

The slogan, "back to the *Shariat*" was not confined only to the theologians and the Sufis opposed to Ibn Arabi ; it was raised by some Suhrawardi saints too, such as Makhdum Jahaniyan and Raju Qattal, who had nothing to say against Ibn Arabi. Saiyid Jalal ud-Din Bukhari, popularly known as Makhdum Jahaniyan, was born on Shab Barat 707/8 February, 1308. He was a disciple of his father and a *Khalifa* of Shaikh Rukn ud-Din. Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq had appointed him as a Shaikh ul-Islam and put him in charge of Khanqah i-Muhammadi in Siwistan and other *khanqahs* of the adjoining places.[5] Firuz Tughluq, his important nobles and the Ulama had the utmost faith in him. Jam Babhniya had also sought his intercession to effect peace between him and Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq.[6] He used to visit Sultan Firuz every year or two at the request of the Sultan. His most unreasonable attitude was exhibited in his efforts to get Nuwahun, a Hindu *Darogha* of Uchch, converted to Islam. Nuwahun's remark reveals, on the one hand, the extent to which the teachings of *Wujudis* had trickled down to the hearts of the Hindus, and on the other, the low level to which some of the orthodox Sufis

1. Someone enquired of him the reason for the preference of Hindawi over a Persian among the Sufis. Gesu Daraz replied, "Everything has a peculiarity of its own. Hindawi moves the hearts more easily and has greater elegance. Idea can be expressed more clearly through it. It has greater melody, brings tears and instils debasement, submissiveness and humility". (*Jawami ul-Kilam*, f. 138b).
2. *Ibid.*, f. 79b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 176b.
4. *Istiqamat ush-Shariat*, ff. 2b-8a.
5. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 142 ; *Tarikh i-Muhammadi*, pp. 152b-154a.
6. *Afif* : *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 240-42.

and Ulama occasionally stooped. Nawahun, the *Darogha* of Uchch, went to enquire about the health of Makhdum Jahaniyan who was on his death bed. The unfortunate *Darogha,* in a most formal manner said, "May God Almighty grant recovery to Hazrat Makhdum. The bodily being of Makhdum is the seal of the saints in the same way as the Prophet (Muhammad) was the seal of the Prophets."[1] Makhdum Jahaniyan and his brother Saiyid Raju Qattal found it opportune to force on him the conversion to Islam, perhaps as a 'reward' for acclaiming the Prophet Muhammad as the 'seal of the Prophet'. They caught him by his aforesaid utterance and twisting it to mean his belief in Islam, pressed him to formally embrace it. This strange logic of Makhdum Jahaniyan and his brother stood in sharp contrast to the attitude adopted by Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya when a Hindu was brought to him in the hope that he might be converted to Islam. Shaikh Nizam ud-Din believed in conversion through a real change of heart and not through force. Far from appreciating the spirit underlying Nawahun's remark, Makhdum Jahaniyan and his brother compelled him to do a thing he was least willing to accept. Nawahun refused in a firm tone to accept Islam. His flat refusal enraged them and brought on him the charge of apostasy. He fled for his life to the court of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. Meanwhile Makhdum Jahaniyan died on 10 Zilhijja, 785/3 February 1384. But Raju Qattal did not close the matter. He reached Delhi with witnesses. Though the Sultan himself did not agree with Raju Qattal, and Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Qazi Abdul Mughis, supported him, Raju Qattal prevailed upon Firuz Shah Tughluq to sentence Nawahun to death on the charge of apostasy.[2]

Similarly Makhdum Jahaniyan considered it heretical on the part of the Muslims to invoke Almighty God with the names which were generally used for common people, *viz. Thakur* (lord), *Dhani* (rich) or *Kartar* (master)[3] etc. This shows that the traditions of the early neo-Bhakti movement, which did not differentiate between

1. *Siyar ul-Arifin,* p. 159.
It is curious that Makhdum Jahaniyan had himself written in *Siraj ul-Hidayat,* "One does not become Muslim merely by pronouncing *Kalima i-Tauhid* or *Kalima i-Shahadat* by way of habit or custom unless one refrains from practising *kufr* or speaking matters related to it." (*Siraj ul-Hidayat,* India Office Manuscript, Delhi, Persian 1038, f. 32a.)
2. Jamali : *Siyar ul-Arifin,* (Delhi), pp. 159-60.
3. *Siraj ul-Hidayat,* f. 64b.

8

Rama and Rahim, had influenced the minds of the common Muslims so much so that an orthodox Sufi had to write against the tendency with a view to checking its popularity. He likewise vehemently criticised the fire-works and other festivities indulged in by the Indian Muslims on the occasion of *Shab Barat*. Practices like white-washing the graves and lighting lamps on them on the occasion was not less repugnant to him. He regarded them heretical, since during his travels to Ghazni, Khurasan and Arabia, he nowhere saw these practices.[1] Thus, he sought the abolition of the usages developed in India and popular among the Indian Muslims on the plea that they were the worst type of *Bidat*. Probably impressed by this school of thought, Firuz Tughluq sought to stop a number of such practices through legislation,[2] though they seem never to have been eradicated.

Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, a disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud and the preceptor of Qazi Shihab ud-Din Daulatabadi, was also very zealous in fostering the laws of *Shariat*. In his eyes serious consideration of one problem of *Shariat* was an act of greater piety than the performance of one thousand *rakat* (genuflexions) of *Namaz*.[3]

His disciple Malik ul-Ulama Qazi Shihab ud-Din b. Shams ud-Din Daulatabadi, the *Qazi ul-Quzat* of Jaunpur under Sultan Ibrahim Shah, was the precursor of those scholars who aimed at reviving a puritanical form of Islam through theological studies in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Of his works the most outstanding was an extensive Persian commentary on the *Quran*, entitled *Bahr i-Mawaj*, which he dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur.[4] He had an immense regard for the descendants of Prophet Muhammad, about whose merits and prerogatives, he wrote in *Manaqib us-Sadat*.[5] He died in 848[6]/1444-1445.

The polemics of the Sufis, hostile to the doctrines of the *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and the "back to *Shariat*" slogan, could not, however, check the popularity of Ibn Arabi and the increasing attempts to explore the common grounds, between the Hindus and the Muslims, conducive to the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations between the two.

1. *Ibid.*, f. 67a.
2. *cf. Futuhat i-Firuz Shahi* (Aligarh).
3. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 150-51 ; *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani*, f. 28a.
4. Ethe, 2679 ; Ivanow 958, Edition, Lucknow 1297 (*Suras* I to VI only); Storey: Vol. I pp. 9-10.
5. Storey: Vol. I, p. 211.
6. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 180-81 ; *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani*, f. 70a.

Amongst the disciples of Makhdum Jahaniyan himself, one Jamshid who was entitled by the Master as *Akhi* or brother and was popularly known as Akhi Rajgiri, could not check himself from falling into a trance of mystic ecstasy when he saw a group of handsome young Hindu boys adorned with ornaments passing through his house in Qannauj, singing and dancing on a day of *Holi*. He himself joined in their music and dance and went on roaming about the streets of Qannauj for three days and nights. The populace of Qannauj, finding him in this condition, could not help joining him. This was too much for the *Qazis*, *Muftis* and orthodox Sufis of Qannauj. They, with the help of the Ulama (of Jaunpur), tried to persuade Khwaja i-Jahan Sultan ush-Sharq (*d.* 802/1399-1400) to take a serious view of the case. Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri, thereupon, wrote a spirited letter in his defence and informed the Sultan, "I have danced on the earth and (now) intensely long to dance in the air with the help of the good offices of His Majesty." He made it quite clear to the Sultan that death for the sake of Divine Love was his most cherished goal. After the receipt of the letter of the Shaikh, no other alternative was left with Sultan ush-Sharq but to reject the entreaties of the Ulama of Qannauj and Jaunpur.[1]

The popularity of the works of Ibn Arabi, too, went on increasing in India with the passage of time, and mystic circles were practically flooded with the commentaries, which made a detailed exposition of the various aspects of his doctrines. *Wahdat ul-Wujud* came to be regarded as the dominant system of mystic thoughts. Contacts with Yogis and Hindu saints went a long way in popularising pantheistic doctrines. Indian Sufis had started taking more interest in Sanskrit and Hindi. The mystic philosophy of *Advaita Vedanta* provided a wide scope for the development of the pantheistic doctrines.

The execution of Nawahun did not discourage the people, who went on claiming that both Hinduism and Islam were only two different approaches for the achievement of the same goal. Often, some of them were put to death for their convictions but the movement was too strong to be crushed through persecution.[2] The orthodox amongst the Hindus as well as Muslims looked with disgust at this tendency. It was this atmosphere that fostered the neo-Bhakti movement of the fifteenth century in the northern India, particularly among the linguistic regions of Awadhi, Braj, Gurmukhi and Rajasthani. The appelation

1. *Mirat ul-Asrar*, ff. 453b-454a.
2. *cf.* The execution of Lodhan, a Brahman of Lucknow, in the reign of Sultan

of *Muwahhid* (monist) came to occupy a unique place in the mystic thoughts of the Sufis and this was assigned to the mystics like Kabir. Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, one day, enquired of his father Shaikh Sadullah, "Was Kabir, who is so famous, a Muslim or a *kafir*?" Shaikh Sadullah replied "He was a *Muwahhid*." Shaikh Rizqullah further asked, "Is a *Muwahhid* different from a *kafir* or a Muslim?" Shaikh Sadullah replied, "It is difficult to understand. You will (gradually follow it."[1]

The *Bhakti* (devotion) songs of the Vaishnavites excited more mystic ecstasy in the Sufis than the other forms of Hindi and Persian poetry. Their use went on increasing in the fifteenth century though not without strong reactions against these from the orthodox circles. Liberal Sufis were not, however, slow to take up the challenge and they reconciled the entire mythological symbols of the Vaishnavite poetry and other devotional songs with the Muslim orthodox beliefs. Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami,[2] an eminent Sufi and the author of *Saba Sanabil*, a highly

Sikandar Lodi (1451-1489 A. D.). He asserted that Islam was as true a religion as his own. The case was brought to the notice of the Sultan when he was camping in Sambhal. The curiosity of the Sultan was aroused and he convened an assembly of the Ulama from Delhi, Sirhind and Qannauj to discuss the matter. After careful consideration the Ulama issued a decree that Lodhan be imprisoned and be asked to declare a firm belief in Islam. Should he refuse, he was to be sentenced to death. Lodhan preferred to sacrifice his life rather than to give up his own faith.

[Nizam ud-Din Ahmad : *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. I, pp. 322-23].

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 300.

2. Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami was the son of Saiyid Qutb ud-Din. His ancestor descended from an eminent and respected family of Sufis of Bilgram (District Hardoi, U P.). He was born in 915 (1509-10) in Sandi where his grand-father had shifted some time before. Later on, Mir Abdul Wahid married one of his daughters into a family of Bilgram and himself moved there. Mir Abdul Wahid was married at Qannauj where he lived for some time. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni had seen him in Qannauj in 979/1571-72 (in original 977, but 979 appears to be more correct, *cf.* Rizvi, S. A. A. : *Haqaiq i-Hindi*, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Varanasi, p. 27). Badauni says, "He (Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami) is a most learned and accomplished man, much given to austerities and devotions. He has a sublime disposition and attractive qualities, and he follows a sublime religious rule. He used formerly to indulge in ecstatic songs in Hindi and fall into trance, but he is now past all this."

technical and popular work of Sufism, went to the extent of writing a treatise entitled *Haqaiq i-Hindi* (Jamada I, 974/November-December 1566) in which he sought to reconcile more than fifty symbols of the Vaishnavites and a large number of terms and expressions used in other devotional songs. Krishna and other names used in such verses for him sometimes symbolised Prophet Muhammad, sometimes "Man" and sometimes the reality of human being (*Haqiqat i-Insan*) in relation to the abstract notion of oneness (*Ahadiyyat*)[1] of Divine essence. *Gopis* (cow-herds' wives) sometimes symbolised angels, sometimes the human race and sometimes its reality in relation to the *Wahidiyya*[2] (relative unity *i.e.* unity in plurality) of the Divine attributes. Mir Abdul Wahid strengthened his contention with the following line of Shibli :[3] 'I enquire about Salma and nobody gives any reply.' Abdul Wahid argued that in this line Salma did not stand for a lady, but for God. *Gobra* (cow-dung) symbolised the faults and follies of human beings. 'Udhu' (a friend of Krishna) sometimes represented Prophet Muhammad himself and sometimes his followers who are intermediaries between the slave and the master. Sometimes the name indicated 'Jibrail', *Patiya* (tablet) sometimes indicated heavenly scriptures and at other times the *Nama i-amal* (a book of the sins and merits of mankind supposed to be kept by guardian or observing angels, to be produced on the Day of Judgment).[4] Braj of Gokul (name of a town near Mathura)

The Mir had a genius for poetry and he wrote of a sweet and charming beloved Raja, the following couplet :

اي‌كرده خيال توبه تخت دلها جا ـ هر گز نبود دردل ماغير ترا جا

"Thoughts of thee have made my heart their throne.
Never will my heart have room for any but thee." [Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 65-66. English Translation by Haig, Sir W., (Calcutta 1925), pp. 106-107.]

At the time when Badauni saw him, his eye-sight had already been very badly affected. He died on 3 Ramazan, 1017/11 December, 1608 after living for 102 lunar years. [Ala ud-Daula Qazwini : *Nafais ul-Maasir* (Aligarh University Mss).; Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar* (Lindesiana Mss.) ; Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami : *Maasir ul-Kiram* (Agra, 1910), pp. 22-24, 35-37 ; Rizvi, S. A. A.: *Haqaiq i-Hindi*, pp. 23-33].

1. *cf.* Nicholson : *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 84, 95, 97, 98, 104, 126.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116, 117, 123, 201, 212.
3. Abu Bakr Dulaf b. Jhadar, a mystic of great repute, popularly known as Shibli, was born in Baghdad in 247/861 A. D. and died there in 334/945 . He has been assigned a very important part in the legend of Hallaj. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 360-61).
4. *Haqaiq i-Hindi* (Aligarh University Mss., Ahsan Collection), f. 10b.

sometimes symbolized *Alam iNasut* (the Human world), sometimes *Alam i-Malakut* (the Invisible world) and sometimes *Alam i-Jabrut* (the Highest world). Jamuna and Ganga sometimes indicated the sea of *Wahdat* (unity), and at other the ocean of *Marifat* (gnosis) and at still other the river of *Hads* (origination) and *Imkan* (contingent) or potential existence). *Murli* (flute) symbolised the appearance of entity out of non-entity. Sometimes it indicated the song of "so now I have made him complete and breathed into him of My inspiration"[1], and sometimes it symbolised the music of *Kun.*[2] 'Kans' (an ancient king of Mathura) often represented devils, sometimes Satan, sometimes it symbolised the divine name indicating the majesty and power of the Almighty. It might also refer to the law propounded by previous apostles of God.

The above gives an idea of the nature of approach and understanding of the Sufis regarding Hindu mythology as well as of their attempts to reconcile the *Advaita Vedanta* with the *Wahdat ul-Wujud.* These attempts had no political motives and were started long before Akbar ascended the throne. They appear to have reached fruition in Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's *Haqaiq i-Hindi.*[3] The Hindus too did not fail to obtain mastery over *Wahdat ul-Wujud* of the Sufis. A Brahmin[4] of Sultan Sikandar's reign, who was also a poet, used to give instructions in books of Islamic learning. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni has reproduced a verse composed by him in a metre used by Masud Bak.[5]

The fifteenth century in India also saw the rise of the Shattari Silsila whose saints had drunk deep at the fountain of the *Wahdat ul-Wujud.* They indulged in hard ascetic exercises like the Yogis and

1. *Quran, Sura* XV, 29. This shows that man is made complete when the Divine inspiration or spirit is breathed into him.
2. *Kalimat ul-Hazrah* : The fiat of God when he said, "Be", and it was created. The word *Kun* is therefore called the *Kalimat ul-Hazrah.* It occurs in the *Quran, Sura* XXVI 82 : "His bidding is only when He desires anything to say to it 'be' and it is". [Hughes, T. P. : *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1935), p. 261a].
3. The Present author has translated the work in Hindi with notes and commentary. It has been published with a foreword of Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi.
4. 'Dunkar' in accordance with the variant in a manuscript.
5. Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* (Calcutta, 1868), p. 323. English Translation with useful variants in different texts by Ranking, G. S. A. (Calcutta, 1898), p. 426.

studied *Yoga* and *Advaita Vedanta* with utmost seriousness. They cultivated Hindi poetry, and some of the highly esteemed Hindi poets like Manjhan rose from amongst them. There was wide scope for development in the *Silsila* itself. It was known as *Ishqiya* in Iran and Turan and as *Bistamiya* in Turkey on account of its association with Bayizid Bistami.[1] They preferred to remain in a state of mystic intoxication. Acquisition of divine love had a supreme importance in this *Silsila*. They derived their epithet 'Shattari' from their claim to make the seekers traverse the mystic path more quickly and swiftly as compared with other *Silsilas*. They also claimed that they could acquire in their very first step that stage which other *Darweshes* were able to reach only at the last stage of their mystic journey.[2]

The founder of this *Silsila* in India, Shah Abdullah Shattari, known as *Hazrat i-Ala*, had travelled through Khurasan, Iraq and Azarbaijan, before stepping on the soil of India. In India, he had travelled as far as Bengal. During his journeys he dressed himself like a Sultan and his disciples would put on military uniform. They would march beating their drums and with their banners flying. Wherever he went he would send this message to the saints of that place: "The *Darwesh* has taken to wandering through the world with the view that if anyone has been able to acquire the significance of *Kalma i-Tauhid* better than this *Darwesh*, he should teach it to him, otherwise he should obtain the bliss of acquiring it from this traveller who has access to the treasure of *Tauhid*."[3] In Bengal, Shaikh Muhammad Ala, who was later on known as Shaikh Qazan Shattari, entered into his discipleship.[4] When he reached Malwa, Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji was besieging Chittor. It is said that on account of his blessings the fort was speedily reduced and it fell into the hands of the Sultan. After the conquest of the fort the Sultan sent him to Mandu, before his departure to the capital.[5] At Mandu he wrote *Lataif i-Ghaibiya* and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji. He died in 1485 and was buried in Gwalior fort.[6]

1. Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar* (Lindesiana), f. 100b; *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, f. 216b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 102a.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 101b.
   Shaikh Abdul Haq has given a different version of his declaration. According to him, Shaikh Abdullah Shattari would declare at the beat of drum, "Is there any one who want to come to me so that I may guide him on to the path of God ?" (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 176).
4. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 101b.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 101b-102a.
6. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 176; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 100b-103b; *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani*, ff. 121b-122a.

Of his disciples Shaikh Qazan Shattari, who popularised his mission in Bengal, was the most eminent. In Jaunpur, Shaikh Abdullah Shattari's *Khalifa*, Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri, rose to some fame.[1] His disciple Shaikh Buddhan Shattari[2] obtained considerable popularity in Sultan Sikandar's reign. Shaikh Abdul Haq's uncle, Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, also became his disciple.[3]

The Shattari Silsila rose to the pinnacle of its popularity on account of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus (*b.* 906/1500-1501) and his elder brother, Shaikh Bahlul (also written as Shaikh Phul). In the early stages of his mystic training, Muhammad Ghaus had spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Chunar and adjoining places, making his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. Badauni says, "He was an acknowledged master in the science of *Dawat i-Isma* (exorcism); he possessed supernatural powers, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God. He obtained leave to practise this science (soul exorcism) from his elder brother Shaikh Bahlul, who was a worker of miracles and wonders."[4]

Of the works written by him, *Jawahir -i-Khamsa* was compiled originally in Arabic when he was twenty-two years old. He prepared its revised Persian version in his fiftieth year, *i.e.* 956/1549.[5] No less important is his *Bahr ul-Hayat*, a translation of a Sanskrit work entitled *Amrita Kunda*.[6] His relations with Babur, Humayun and Akbar, and those of his elder brother Shaikh Bahlul with Humayun on account of which he had to suffer death, are too well known to be recapitulated here. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus died in 970/1562-63. Amongst his disciples those who attained to great eminence were Manjhan,[7] the author of *Madhu Malti*, and Shaikh Wajih ud-Din Gujarati.

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 100b-101a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 131a; *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani*, ff. 147b-148a.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 131a ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 200.
4. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 4, English Translation by Wolseley Haig, p. 7.
5. Ethe, 1875-1876 ; *Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 187a-192a.
6. *Bahr ul-Hayat* was published from Delhi in 1890. But is now rarely available. A copy of the above edition is available in Aligarh Muslim University Library (Abdus-Salam Collection). (Ethe, 2002).
7. Manjhan was the son of Abdullah Qazi Khair ud-Din and belonged to Lakhnauti. He was descended from the family of Qazi Taj ud-Din Nahwi on the father's side and from that of Qazi Sami ud-Din, who had received the title of Qutlugh Khani , on the mother's side. Manjhan became the

Thus a survey of the activities of Ulama and Sufis in India from the middle of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century shows that the Ulama launched a tirade against some of the fundamental principles of Sufism which, they considered, ran counter to the orthodox religion and seemed to many to be striking at the very roots of the *Shariat.* This tussle also created an alarm among a section of the Sufi saints themselves. Some of them felt that due to the way popular Sufism was taking shape in the country, *Shariat* was being dangerously neglected, that charlatanism was on the increase and that the purity of the faith was in danger. The protagonists of this tendency set before themselves the task of reforming the Sufi beliefs in strict accordance with the orthodox principles of *Shara*, and of guarding them against the intrusion of any non-Islamic belief. Emphasis thus shifted on to the strict observance of the laws of *Shariat* which was sought to be made the source of all interpretations of the mystical features of their beliefs. This attempt to reconcile orthodox theology with Sufism offered no solution either to the purely religious or to the sociological problems. The esoteric and intuitive features of Sufism, as also its

disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and studied *Jawahir Khamsa* under his care. He was held in such high esteem by his preceptor that he bestowed on Manjhan the same *khirqa* which he had put on, while he had been performing ascetic exercises in Chunar. Ghausi Shattari had seen the *khirqa* in 1014/1605-1606, with Manjhan's son Shaikh Usman. He reached Rai Sen fort, the same year, when Sher Shah conquered it and received the office of *Shaikh ul-Islam* and *Khanqah Dari* of that fort. After the reoccupation of the fort by the Rajputs he began to reside in Sarangpur (Malwa). Due to his presence there the Ulama are reported to have thronged to Sarangpur from all quarters, with the result that the city gained such eminence as to vie with Shiraz. After some time he began to lead a retired life at some distance from Sarangpur. In Rabi I, 1001/December 1592-January 1593, he again went to Sarangpur, bade farewell to his relations and friends and retired to his lonely quarters in the wilderness. By then he was eighty. The same month he organised a party for *Zikr i-jahr* (loud recitation of *Zikr*) and gave up the ghost in a fit of ecstasy. (*Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 239a-239b). He has made several references to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus in *Madhu Malti* :

सेख मुहम्मद पीरु अपारा । सात समुंद नाऊ कंडहारा ।
संवरि पांउ जो आवै मोई । परथम मुख देखत सुख होई ।
फुनि दुहुँ जग पूजै मन आसा । परसत चरन पाप गा नासा ।
ग्यान छाड़ि मुख औंर न बाता । दस औ चार मंत सिधि दाता ।
बिसमां हरख न घट महिं लाहैं । संतत रहहि लीन लौ माहैं ।
दाता औ गुन गाहक गौस मुहम्मद पीर ।
दुहुँ कुल निरमल सापुरुस गरुअ गरिस्ट गंभीर ॥

[Mata Prasad Gupta : *Madhu Malti* (Allahabad, 1961), p. 14.]

concept of gnosis or of love, were misfits in the rigid frame of *Shariat*. Likewise, the institution of *Piri-muridi*, the very basis of Sufism, found the doors of orthodox theology closed to it. Miracles, supernatural powers of the saints, and the virtual worship of the shrines of the saints were looked upon with disdain by the orthodox. Still, the Sufis believed in them. The reconciliation between orthodox and Sufistic tendencies threatened to be superficial. Strict adherence to the laws of *Shariat* precluded the practice of '*sama*', an integral part of the Chishti discipline. The prevalence of such diversified trends in Sufism laid bare the fact that the call 'back to *Shariat*', as often given by the orthodox theologians and Sufis, would remain a cry in the wilderness unless *Shariat* was interpreted more liberally than was being done. In the absence of a spirit of mutual adjustment, the reconciliation could not be lasting. It was vain to attempt to uproot all the alleged un-Islamic practices from a country like India which had a preponderance of non-Muslims.

On the sociological plane also, the orthodox Sufis and theologians met with no appreciable success. They sought to build up the Muslim community on the basis of the ideal of Islamic brotherhood and in conformity with Islamic law. But in actual practice, things presented themselves in a different form. Barring a few, none of the powerful and the more affluent members of the community cared for the proper discharge of his obligations towards his less fortunate brethren. The struggle of the orthodox elements against *Bidats* or innovations resulted only in widening the gulf between different sections of Muslims, rather than bridging it.

Thus all the factors, taken together, crystallized the situation and sharpened the conflicts in attitude. The concept of *Tauhid i-Shuhudi*, the emphasis on the *Shariat*, the desire for revivalism, intolerance and the struggle against *Bidat* became the characteristics of one attitude. The concept of *Sulh Kul*, monism and the growing belief, that essentially *Tauhid i-Wujudi* and Vedantism represent the same truth, became the characteristics of the other trend. The independent provincial governments, in the fifteenth century, generally patronised the policy of peaceful co-existence and harmony between all the sections of their subjects. The *Bhakti* movement gave the spur to the development of the process of cultural and social rapproachement, nullifying all the efforts of the *Shuhudis* and other reactionary elements who sought

to pander to the communal sentiments. The political changes that were introduced in the wake of the establishment of the Mughul empire and the policy of "peace with all "as practised by Akbar in every sphere of human activity—political, social, religious and cultural-sharpened the crisis and it was but inevitable that the revivalist movements should grow and clash with the liberal trends of the times in India.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MAHDAWI MOVEMENT

For a proper comprehension of Mahdiism or the Mahdawi movement, it is but fitting to quote the fourteenth century historian and philosopher, Ibn i-Khaldun. He was the first among the medieval scholars to put a systematic and critical interpretation upon the traditions about the Mahdi. In his '*Muqaddamah*' he says, "It has been well-known (and generally accepted) by Muslims in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family (of the Prophet) will without fail make his appearance, one who will strengthen the religion and make justice triumph. The Muslims will follow him, and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called the Mahdi. Following him, the anti-Christ will appear, together with all the subsequent signs of the Hour (the Day of Judgment), as established in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*.[1] After (the Mahdi), Isa (Jesus) will descend and kill the anti-Christ. Or, Jesus will descend together with the Mahdi, and help him kill (the anti-Christ), and have him as the leader in his prayers."[2]

Literally speaking, Mahdi means "the guided one" or "the directed one". Hence, "one who is fit to direct others" or "a Guide" or "a Leader" may be called a Mahdi. Al-Tirmizi[3], Abu Dawud[4], al-Bazzar[5], Ibn Majah[6], al-Hakim[7], al-Tabrani[8], and Abu Yala al-Mawsili[9] are among the important traditionists who have incorporated

1. Traditions are classified as genuine (*Sahih*), fair (*Hasan*) and weak (*Zaeef*).
2. Rosenthal, F. : *The Muqaddimah* (London, 1958), Vol. II, p. 156 ; Rizvi, S. A. A. : *Ibn i-Khaldun Ka Muqaddamah* (Luckow, 1961), pp. 361-362 (Hindi).
3. Muhammad b. Isa al-Tirmizi (*d.* 279/892), author of one of the authoritative collections of traditions. Tirmizi's *Sahih* (Bulaq, 1292/1875), II, pp. 23-44.
4. Sulaiman b. al-Ashas (*ca* 202-275/817-889), *Sunan* (Cairo, 1310/1892-93) in the margin of az-Zurqani : *Sharh al-Muwatta*, Vol. IV, pp. 86-89.
5. Ahmad b. Amr (*d.* 292/904-5). His *Musnad* not yet published.
6. Muhammad b. Yazid (209-273/824-887), *Sunan*, Chapter on Mahdi (Cairo, 1313/1896).
7. Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Hakim (321-405/933-1014) *Mustadrak*, Chapter on Traditions on Mahdi (Hyderabad, 1334-42/1915-23).
8. Sulaiman b. Ahmad (260-360/873-971). His works have not yet been published.
9. Ahmad b. Ali (*d.* 307/919-20). His *Musnad* has not yet been published.

in their works traditions about the Mahdi. They have mentioned a number of eminent men and women around Muhammad as transmitters of these traditions.

Ali[1], Ibn Abbas[2], Ibn Umar[3], Talha[4], Ibn Masud[5], Abu Hurairah[6], Anas[7], Abu Said al-Khudri[8], Umm i-Habibah[9], Umm i-Salimah[10], Sawban[11], Qurrah b. Iyas[12], Ali al-Hilali[13], and Abdullah b. al-Haris b. Jaz[14], etc. are in one way or the other associated with these traditions. A popular tradition says, 'He who does not believe in the Mahdi is an unbeliever, and he who does not believe in the anti-Christ is a liar."[15] Another tradition says, "The Messenger of God

1. Ali, son of Abu Talib, was the cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad. He succeeded Usman as the fourth Caliph in July 655 A.D., and was done to death in January 661 A.D.
2. Abdullah *ibn* Abbas, surnamed Abul Abbas (*d. ca* 688 A. D.) was the Prophet's cousin and ancestor of the Abbasid Caliphs. He is much admired for his knowledge of profane and sacred traditions, jurisprudence and his skill in commenting on the *Quran*.
3. Abdullah *ibn* Umar was the son of the second Caliph Umar. He died in 73 or 74/692-93 or 693-94. He is said to have transmitted about 1,630 traditions of Prophet Muhammad.
4. Talha b. Ubaidullah, a companion of the Prophet, one of the ten *Mubash-shara* *i.e.* those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He lost his life in the battle of Jamal (Jamada II, 36/December 656).
5. Abdullah *ibn* Masud (*d. ca* 653 A. D.) is said to have been responsible for 848 traditions of Prophet Muhammad. [*cf.* A. Jeffery : *Materials for the History of the Text of the Quran* (Leiden, 1937).]
6. Abu Hurairah was a companion of the Prophet and a most zealous propagator of his words and deeds. He is reputed to have transmitted over 5,300 traditions, many of which must have been foisted on him after his death.
7. Anas b. Malik, a prolific traditionist and highly respected companion of the Prophet (*d. ca* between 709 and 711 A. D.), is said to have transmitted about 2,286 traditions of Prophet Muhammad.
8. Abu Said al-Khudri (*d. ca* 63-65/682-685).
9. One of Prophet Muhammad's wives.
10. One of Prophet Muhammad's wives.
11. Sawban b. Bujdud (*d. ca* 54/674.)
12. Qurrah b. Iyas (*d. ca* 64/683-84).
13. Ibn Hajar : *Isabah* (Calcutta, 1856-73), II, 1217, No. 10062, mentions him and his son Ali after al-Tabrani, but nothing else is known about him.
14. Abdullah b. Haris b. Jaz (*d.* between 85 and 88/704-707).
15. Rosenthal, F. : *The Muqaddimah*, p. 159. The authority for this tradition is Malik b. Anas.

said : 'The earth will be filled with injustice and crime. When it is filled with injustice and crime, God will send a man from me whose name will be my name, and whose father's name will be my father's name. He will fill it with justice and equity, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. Heaven will not withhold its rain, nor the earth its plants. He will remain among you seven or eight, or nine'-that is, years."[1] According to another tradition : "There will be piles of money. A man will get up and say: 'o Mahdi, give me something,' and he will reply : 'Just take'."[2] Apart from compiling these traditions, some traditionists have visualized the signs to precede the emergence of the Mahdi and have even fancied his physical bearing and other qualities.[3]

These various traditions have received a critical examination at the hands of Ibn i-Khaldun who has exposed their hollowness on the basis of the discrepancies in the chain of "the transmitters." He was sceptical about the veracity of these traditions and rather held the belief that *asabiyah* (clan patriotism) or social solidarity were the sole factors leading to the establishment of supreme power in the state.[4] His scepticism about these traditions arose out of the fact that the most authentic and careful compiler of the traditions, al-Bukhari[5], has made no mention of the traditions regarding Mahdi.[6]

The word Mahdi does not occur in the *Quran*. In various Muslim works the term has been used to denote different concepts.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183. The authority for this tradition is Qurrah b. Iyas.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 168. (Recension of Ibn Majah and al-Hakim).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 166. For other traditions regarding Mahdi *cf. The Muqaddimah*, pp. 159-186. *cf.* Traditions regarding Mahdi in *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani* of Mujaddid Vol. III, Letter nos. 67 and 68). He has referred to a treatise of Shaikh ibn i-Hajar which according to him consisted of about 200 traditions regarding the appearance of Mahdi.

   The traditions dealing with the physical features of Mahdi say, "The Messenger of God said : 'The Mahdi is from me. He has a bald forehead and an aquiline nose." (*The Muqaddimah*, p. 166).
4. He says, "The truth one must know is that no religious or political propaganpa can be successful, unless power and group feeling exist to support the religious and political aspirations and to defend them against those who reject them until God's will with regard to them materializes." (*The Muqaddimah*, Vol. II, p. 195 ; *cf.* Vol. I, pp. 305, 320 and 322).
5. The first and the most authoritative of the six standard works on traditions of Prophet Muhammad compiled in the third century *Hijri* (XI Century A. D.) was written by Muhammad *ibn* Ismail al-Bukhari (810-70 A. D.). It is known as *al-Sahih.*
6. *The Muqaddimah*, Vol. II, pp. 177-185.

The *Lisan* ascribes the title Mahdi to the first four Caliphs (*Khulafa al-rashidin al-mahdiyin*)[1]. Jarir[2] applied it to Abraham and Hasan[3] b. Sabit to Muhammad. It is often applied by Sunnis to Ali as a title of distinction, denying it to the other three *Khalifas* ; thus in *Usd al-Ghaba* he is called "*Hadiyan Mahdiyin* (Guide of the Guided)". Sulaiman b. Surad[4] calls Husain, after his death, "Mahdi, son of the Mahdi." Farazdaq[5] and Jarir applied it as an honorific even to the Umayyad *Khalifas*.[6]

With the first cycle of conquests, expansion and the intense military activity of the people of Hijaz coming to an end in 35/656, the term Mahdi assumed a particular significance. The political situation took a turn for the worse resulting in the breaking out of internecine wars among the followers of the Prophet. These civil wars crippled the energies of the people and strained their nerves to such extent that they became expectant of the Deliverer and Restorer. Determined to avenge the killing of Imam Husain at Karbala in 61/680 Mukhtar[7] declared Muhammad al-Hanafiyya[8] to be the Mahdi as the son

1. *cf.* Mujaddid : *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 25.
2. *Naqaid.*
3. He belonged to the Khazraj tribe both on his father's and mother's side. He was born at Medina about the year 563 A.D., being thus some seven or eight years older than Muhammad. He was an eminent city poet of his age and was the founder of the religious poetry of Islam. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 288-289).
4. Sulaiman B. Surad al-Khuzai, a Shii who fought on the side of Ali in the battle of Jamal and Siffin. After the death of Muawiya in Rajab 60/April 680 he showed himself as one of the most ardent supporters of Husain but later on he failed to retain his earlier enthusiasm. After Husain had fallen at Karbala on 10 Muharram 61/Oct. 10, 680, he became the leader of the *Tawwabuns* of Kufa, who organised themselves to avenge the murder of Imam Husain. After a prolonged but unsuccessful struggle, which continued for a few years, he fell fighting against his enemies on 22 Jamada I, 65/4 January 685 at the age of 93. (Ibn Sad : *Tabaqat*, ed. Sachau, IV, pp. 11, 30; VI, 15 ; Ibn ul-Asir : *Usd al-Ghaba*, Vol. II, p. 351 ; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 521-522).
5. Farazdaq was one of the three greatest Arab satirists of the Arab period. He was probably born about the year 20/640-41 and seems to have died in 114/732-733. Philologists in later times esteemed him on account of his strong vocabulary. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 60-61).
6. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 112.
7. Mukhtar b. Ali Ubaid al-Saqafi, a Shia agitator who took possession of Kufa in 66/685-686.
8. A son of Ali, whose mother's name was al-Hanafiyya. He never wished to be completely compromised with, in the business of the Mahdi.

of the Wasi.[1] In the political, social and economic situations obtaining in the years to come, for those who were more adventurous and who claimed to have been actuated by some mystic feeling, the temptation to declare themselves the Mahdi proved irresistible.

Consequently a number of Mahdis have appeared from time to time in the history of Islam who pursued a chequered career and were ceaseless in their efforts to turn the situation to their advantage. The faith in the traditions regarding the appearance of the Mahdi was shaken when protagonists of a particular Mahdi relied only on such traditions as suited their purpose, glossing over or discarding the rest of them. Traditions were thus made the handmaids of the different sects on purely selfish grounds. These traditions obtained considerable popularity with the Fatimids, whose religious beliefs proved a very fertile ground for the germination of such ideas, and with the adventurers in Africa and in other remote regions of the globe where people encountered less opposition from orthodox quarters, who won over a considerable number of adherents to their cause with the least difficulty.[2]

With the advent of Ibn i-Tumart, the Mahdi of al-Mohads, who organised a politico-religious movement in Morocco in 1122 A. D., the emphasis gradually shifted from the attainment of political power to religious reform.[3] Ibn i-Tumart claimed to restore Islam to its pure and

1. An executor or administrator. Ali, as an executor of Muhammad's will, is known as Wasi.

2. Ibn i-Khaldun has referred to the following Mahdis :
   (a) Al-Tuwayziri a Sufi, came forth in the Ribat Massah in the eighth (fourteenth) century and claimed to be the expected Fatimid. He gained some popularity among the people of as-Sus.
   (b) In the last decade of the seventh (thirteenth) century, a man, who had the name al-Abbas, gained followers among the great mass of the Ghumarah. He entered Badis by force and burned down the business section of the city. (*The Muqaddimah*, Vol. II, p. 197). *Tarikh i-Alfi* has mentioned a number of Mahdis who appeared from time to time in different parts of the world in the first millennium of the *Hijri* era.

3. He first appeared merely as a reformer of customs as far as these were contrary to the *Quran* or Tradition ; after he had won a certain influence over his circle, he proceeded to expound his own doctrines ; he vigorously attacked the dynasty, who followed "lying doctrines," and declared every one an infidel who differed from him. This meant preaching a holy war, not only against heathens and polytheists but also against other Muslims. He chose ten companions, including

original orthodoxy. "Pious and devout, he lived in squalid poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in rags ; his courage was great ; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who transgressed the divine law; and not content with obeying God's commandments, he laboured to enforce their strict observance—an occupation in which he took such pleasure that he seemed to have been naturally made for it, and he suffered with patience the vexations to which it exposed him."[1] The people who subsequently claimed themselves to be the Mahdi generally started their career purely as religious reformers and mystics, with people often paying little heed to their activities. Subsequently, people not only went on fixing dates after dates for the appearance of the Mahdi but also indicated the time and place of his appearance as also other particulars of that dignitary. Ultimately they sought recourse to the belief that "Muhammedan day begins with the day of the death of the Prophet and lasts to the completion of the year 1000."[2]

Shah Nimat Ullah Wali's[3] apocalyptic sayings concerning the "Mischief of the last days" (*Fitna i-Akhir uz-Zaman*), the advent of the Mahdi and other similar matters also gave considerable impetus to the movement amongst the mystics and their followers in the 15th century. His poems, composed in a prophetic strain, still have appeal for the credulous believers.[4] Similarly, the Naqtawis or Umani or Mahmudiya,

Abdul Mumin and after he had paved the way by describing the characteristics of the Mahdi, he had himself recognised as such and fabricated a genealogy, in which he traced his origin from Ali b. Abi Talib. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 426-427). He must have been born between 470/1077-78 and 480/1087-8.

1. D. S. Margoliouth : *Mahdi and Mahdiism* (1915).
2. *The Muqaddimah*, Vol. II, pp. 184-195.
3. Amir Nur ud-Din Nimat Ullah, son of Mir Abdullah, was born in Aleppo in 780/1329. He visited Mecca at the age of 24 and his later life passed in Samarqand, Herat, Yazd and finally in Mahanon near Kirman, where he spent the last twenty five years of his life and died on 22 Rajab, 834/April 5, 1432. "He enjoyed the special favour of Shah Rukh while Ahmad Shah Bahmani, king of the Deccan, deemed himself fortunate in persuading to come to his court one of his grandsons. Two other grandsons with their father followed him thither, while several of Shah Nimat Ullah's descendants who remained in Persia, intermarried with the Royal Safawi House." [Browne, E. G. : *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 463-473; Arberry, A. G.: *Classical Persian Literature* (London, 1958), pp 412-417]. *cf.* Ishaque, M. Shah Nimat Ullah, the king of Dervishes (*Indo-Iranica* 6 II, 1952-53), pp. 7-16.
4. Browne, E. G. : *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion.*

the followers of Mahmud of Basakhiwan in Gilan also immensely popularised the idea of the appearance of a Mahdi. He too was styled as the Mahdi by his followers and the movement continued to wield considerable influence in Iran from the time of his appearance in 800/1398 to the reign of Shah Abbas Safawi.

Due to the approach of the first Millennium of the Islamic era in the sixteenth century various mystical hopes began to be entertained. A number of Alims of Mecca and Medina wrote *fatwas* supporting the prophecy, attributed to the Prophet himself, that he would not remain in his grave for more than one thousand years.[1] Shaikh Ibn i-Hajar al-Haitami al-Makki[2] also popularised the traditions regarding the advent of the Mahdi, though with a view to combating the claims of the impostors. The vagueness associated with the appearance of the Mahdi and the variety of ways in which the people arrogated to themselves the title in the past were too intricate a problem, for the rulers as well as religious and political thinkers of the countries governed in the sixteenth century by the Muslims, to solve.

In India traditions regarding the Mahdi received considerable popularity during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq[3] (1351-1388 A.D.). A man named Rukn, who claimed no schooling or instruction

1. Badauni : *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript), ff. 37a-39b.
2. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ali b. Hajar, a famous Arab jurist of the Shafii School, was born at Mahallat Abil Haitam in al-Gharbiya towards the end of the year 909/1504. From 924H onwards he studied in Azhar mosque. Distinguishing himself in theological and legal studies, he received, when barely twenty years of age, authority to deliver *fatwas* and impart instruction. After visiting Mecca twice he subsequently settled there permanently in 940/1533-34 and wrote a number of theological and polemical works. He died on 23 Rajab, 974/3 February, 1567 in Mecca. Ibn i-Hajar's Commentary on the *Minhaj ut-Talibin* of al-Nawawi, *Tuhfat ul-Muh aj i-Sharh al-Minhaj* was regarded as an authoritative text book of the Shafiis. His two polemics—one against Ibn Ziyad: *al-Fatawa al-Hadisiya* (Cairo, 1307) and the other against the Shias : *al Sawaiq al-Muhriqa fil Radd ala ahl al-Bida wal Zandaqa* (Cairo, 1308) are very famous. (*An Arabic History of Gujrat*, p.333; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 380-381).
3. Blochmann says, "Badaoni in his *Najat ur-Rashid*, gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshan, from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshan it was commenced by Sayyad Muhammad Nur Bakhsh—a pupil of Abu Ishaq Khatalani, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent against him." [H. Blochmann : *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1873), p. VI]. Dr. Yasin has also reproduced the above. [Mohammad Yasin : *A Social History of Islamic India* (Lucknow-

from anybody, claimed to be *Mahdi i-Akhir uz-Zaman*[1] (Mahdi of the Last Days) and to be endowed with inspired knowledge. He was beheaded along with his followers, disciples and associate by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. The subject was a burning topic in the assemblies of Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani at Jaunpur.[2]

It is thus quite apparent that even before the advent of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who declared himself to be the promised Mahdi at the end of the 15th century, there did exist in India claimants to this honorific position and people pinning their faith on Mahdiism.

Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur traced his descent back to Musa[3] al-Kazim, the seventh *Imam* of the Isna Ashari Shias. Twelve generations[4] are said to have intervened between Saiyid Muhammad and Musa al-Kazim. Mahdawi sources give the name of Saiyid Muhammad's mother as Bibi Amina and that of his father as Abdullah with the explicit intention of justifying his claim to have been in conformity with the traditions.[5]

To his adversaries, his father was known as Saiyid Khan[6] or Saiyid Budh[7] and hence they were reluctant to give credence to Mahdawi

1958), p. 134]. The idea did not spread from Badakhshan to Iran and in India. It had on the other hand gained immense popularity in the first century of Islamic era.

1. *Futuhat i-Firuz Shahi* (Aligarh, 1954), pp 7-8.
2. *Lataif i-Ashrafi*, f. 44b.
3. Musa al-Kazim, the seventh *Imam* of the Isna Ashari Shias, a son of Jafar b. Muhammad al-Sadiq, was born about 128/745 and he died in prison in Baghdad in Rajab 183/Aug-Sept., 799.
4. Saiyid Muhammad, son of Saiyid Abdullah, son of Saiyid Usman, son of Saiyid Khizr, son of Saiyid Musa, son of Saiyid Qasim, son of Saiyid Najm ud-Din, son of Saiyid Abdullah, son of Saiyid Yusuf, son of Saiyid Yahya, son of Saiyid Jalal ud-Din, son of Saiyid Ismail, son of Saiyid Nimat Ullah, son of Musa al-Kazim (*d.* 799 A D.). [Bandigi Miyan Saiyid Yusuf : *Matla ul-Wilayat* (Hyderabad, 1374H), p. 7; Saiyid Burhan : *Shawahid ul-Wilayat* (Hyderabad, 1379H), pp 29-30.]
5. *cf. Supra*, pp 127-128.
6. Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Najat ur-Rashid* (Aligarh University Habibganj Manuscript, f. 37a).
7. Abul Fazl : *Ain i-Akbari* (Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow 1892), Vol. III, p. 174. According to other non-Mahdawi authorities, the name of Saiyid Muhammad's father was Saiyid Bare. Modern Mahdawi authors claim it to be the title of Abdullah and the discrepancy found between Budh and Bare is ascribed by them to an orthographical error. Most probably the name of Saiyid Muhammad's father was Saiyid Khan or Saiyid Bare and Abdullah appears to be the later concoction.

version. Rather, they charged the Mahdawis with fabricating the name so as to put a halo round the head of Saiyid Muhammad. This charge could never be satisfactorily answered even by Saiyid Muhammad himself. He always evaded a direct reply to their enquiries.[1]

Saiyid Muhammad was born in Jaunpur on Monday the 14 Jamada I, 847/9 September, 1443 in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi (840/1436-37—862/1457-58), son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. Mahdawi sources recount a large number of the miraculous incidents accompanying the birth of Saiyid Muhammad which are reminiscent of those connected with the birth of Prophet Muhammad.[2] They have laboured to prove that all the conditions and signs, that were associated with the appearance of the Mahdi, accompanied the emergence of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur.[3]

Some important incidents relating to the early life of Saiyid Muhammad have also been given in all the Mahdawi sources but a few of these relating to the political and religious history of Jaunpur do not find any corroboration in non-Mahdawi sources. It is said that an

1. The Ulama of Gujarat said to Saiyid Muhammad, "The name of the Mahdi would be Muhammad, son of Abdullah. How is it that your name is Muhammad, son of Saiyid Khan?" Saiyid Muhammad replied, "You should enquire from the Almighty as to why he has made the son of Saiyid Khan the promised Mahdi. He is all powerful. He may do whatever He likes." Saiyid Muhammad later on added, "The father of Prophet Muhammad was a polytheist. How can he be Abdullah (Slave of God) ? This is the copyist's error. Actually Muhammad Abdullah (Muhammad slave of God) is meant. Mahdi is also slave of God." [Bandigi Miyan Abdur Rashid : *Naqliyat* (Hyderabad, 1369H), p. 7; Bandigi Miyan Wali : *Insaf Nama* (Hyderabad, 1368), p. 27.]

2. Some of the miracles, frequently quoted in the earliest works, are these : Prophet Muhammad was born circumcised and with his navel cut. In a clear voice the new born babe recited the creed. "The seal of prophecy was written on his back in letters of light. The idols in the *Kaba* fell down from niches where they were installed. Fourteen pinnacles of Kisra's palace fell down. The sacred fire of the Zorastrians was extinguished." Some credulous believers take them to be literally true. Shibli has tried to gloss over the miracles. (Shibli Numani : *Sirat un-Nabi*, Part I, pp. 170-171).

3. Shah Abdur Rahman : *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, (Hyderabad, 1369H), pp. 5-14; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 8-11 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 29-34.

eminent Sufi, Shaikh Daniyal Chishti[1], a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah[2], who claimed to have received instructions from Khawja Khizr[3], had been anticipating the advent of the Mahdi. When the news of the birth of Saiyid Muhammad and the peculiarities of the child were reported to the Shaikh, he was convinced of the child's being the promised Mahdi.[4]

The Mahdawi sources tell that Saiyid Muhammad started his education under Shaikh Daniyal at the age of four years, four months and four days. Gifted with a prodigious memory and other innate qualities, he memorised the entire *Quran* at an early age of seven years, and on account of his critical faculty and sharp understanding was able to master the traditional learnings within a very short period. At the age of twelve he was awarded the title of *Asad ul-Ulama* (the lion amongst the Ulama)[5] by his teacher.

1. गुरु महदी खेवक मैं सेवा । चले उताइल जिन्ह कर खेवा
अगुआ भएउ सेख बुरहानू । पंथ लाइ जेहिं दीन्ह गिआनू
अलहदाद भल तिन्ह कर गुरु । दीन दुनिअ रोसन सुरखरु
सैयद अहमद के ओइ चेला । सिद्ध पुरुष संगम जेहिं खेला
दानियाल गुरु पंथ लखाए । हजरति ख्वाज खिजिर तिन्ह पाए
भए परसन ओहि हजरति ख्वाजे । लइ मेरए जहं सैयद राजे
उन सौं मैं पाई जब करनी । उघरी जीभ प्रेम कबि बरनी
ओइ सो गुरु सौं चेला निति बिनवौं भा चेर
उन्ह हुति देखइ पावौं दरस गोसाई केर ।।

2. Raji Hamid Shah was a disciple of Shaikh Husam ud-Din of Manikpur and had risen to great eminence on account of his piety and resignation. He died in 901/1495-96. (Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi: *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 194-195; Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, p. 409.

3. "Khizr is the name of a popular figure who plays a prominent part in legend and story. He is connected with two Messianic figures, Elijah (Ilyas) and Jesus ; these three form with Idris the quartette of those who have not tasted death. He is however, in popular traditions, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial. Popular piety as well as Sufi circles readily regard him as a saint (*Wali*). As *Wali*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions. Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway ; he is God's *Khalifa* on the sea and *Wakil* on land; he can make himself invisible at will. He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mecca with him every year." (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 861-865). *cf. Ain i-Akbari* (Lucknow. 1892), Vol. III, p. 176.

4. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, p. 16; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 9 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 35.

5. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 18-19 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 11-12 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 38 ; Maulana Miyan Mansur Khan : *Jannat ul-Wilayat* (Hyderabad, 1376H), pp. 5-10. Later on he was usually called as Saiyid ul-Auliya.

It is said that Saiyid Muhammad used to receive divine calls from his very childhood, informing him that he was the promised Mahdi. Khwaja Khizr is said to have divulged the secrets of the prophetic knowledge and *Zikr i-Khafi* to him in a mosque in Jaunpur, known as Khokhari Mosque, situated near the river Gomati.[1]

Even if the Mahdawi traditions are ignored, the piety and learning of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur could not be questioned either by his contemporaries or later scholars and saints. All the non-Mahdawi sources have issued ungrudging encomiums on the spiritual and intellectual greatness of Saiyid Muhammad. According to Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, the *Wilayat*[2] and eminence of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri were unquestionable.[3] The Ulama of Herat were compelled to inform their Shaikh ul-Islam that Saiyid Muhammad was "one of the symbols of the Almighty. Whatever knowledge you have acquired during the course of innumerable years has no significance as compared with that of Saiyid Muhammad."[4] Maulana Jamal ud-Din[5], Shaikh Abul Fazl[6], Miyan Hatim Sambhali[7] and Shaikh Ali Muttaqi[8] were

1. The presence of Khizr is shown on many other occasions also, in the Mahdawi sources e.g. when Saiyid Muhammad was informally taken by his elder brother to the school of Shaikh Daniyal, on the occasion of Saiyid Muhammad's starting his education, etc. (*Sirat*, p. 20 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 12 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 39.)
2. Mystical union with God effected by self-denial.
3. Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj Mss. Aligarh University.)
4. *Ibid.*
5. Abul Kalam Azad : *Tazkira* (Lahore), p. 32. Maulana Jamal ud-Din wrote a book in defence of the *Wilayat* of Saiyid Muhammad.
6. *Ain i-Akbari* (Lucknow, 1892), Vol. III, p. 174, برصوري ومعنوی علم چیره دست [possessed superiority in many (types of) spiritual and secular knowledge].
7. He is said to have remarked that there could be no doubt about the perfection of Saiyid Muhammad. [Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. III, p. 67.]
8. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi : *Risala Dar Jawab Abd ul-Malik* (Rampur Mss.), ff. 9b-12a. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi's following remark is a criticism of the views of the followers of Saiyid Muhammad: "All the perfections possessed (in the mater of faith) by Prophet Muhammad were also acquired by Saiyid Muhammad, the only difference being that there it was in his own right and here on account of obedience. In his obedience to the Prophet he had become similar to the latter".

از زبان بعضی مہدویہ کہ باتفاق فرقۂ ضلالت اندم شنیدہ است کہ دراعتقاد سید محمد جونپوری کہ مبداونشاد محل ومقرضلالت ایشان است ؛ می گفتند کہ ہرکمال کہ محمد رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم داشت درسید محمد نیزبود ؛ فرق است کہ آنجاباصالت واین جا بہ تبعیت رسول ، بجای رسیدہ کہ ہم چو او شدہ

all praise for his learning and piety. Judging from the context of the above encomiums it is not surprising that he attracted to his fold a large number of disciples. Even Sultan Husain Sharqi (1458-1479) was impressed by young Saiyid's spiritual attainments and deemed it a privilege to be enrolled as one of his disciples.[1]

Though the material prosperity of the kingdom of Jaunpur had begun to decline due to the constant struggles with Sultan Bahlul, by 878/1473-74 it possessed considerable power[2] ; but Sultan Husain Sharqi, in the Mahdawi sources, has been referred to as a vassal of Rai Dalpat of Gaur. Once Saiyid Muhammad is said to have remarked to the Sultan that it did not behove a Muslim sovereign to owe allegiance to a *kafir*. Representing himself as helpless before Dalpat's might, the Sultan consented to wage war against the Raja provided that the Saiyid was prepared to support him. Saiyid Muhammad assured him of his victory.

The Sultan marched with an army of about 50,000 cavalry and fifteen hundred celebates known as *Bairagis*, against Rai Dalpat of Gaur.[3] The *Bairagis* were under Saiyid Muhammad. When they approached Gaur, Dalpat issued out of his fort with a cavalry of 70,000. The Sultan and his force were routed but Saiyid Muhammad, attended by the *Bairagis*, did not leave the battle-field. Sultan Husain Sharqi persuaded him to retire but he did not agree. As soon as Rai Dalpat appeared on his elephant, Saiyid Muhammad shot an arrow which went straight into the beast's head. The elephant fled and the army of the Rai followed. The Rai was, however, able to regain control of his elephant and attacked Saiyid Muhammad, only to be cut into two.

Letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq Mahaddis Dehlawi to Mujaddid.
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is not correct in taking it as encomium from Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi. [Abul Kalam Azad : *Tazkira* (Lahore Reprint), pp. 49.]

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, p. 23 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 13 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 43.
2. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad : *Tabaqat i-Akbari* (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. III, p. 285 ; Firishta: *Gulshan i-Ibrahimi* (Nawal Kishore), p. 311 ; Rizvi: *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part I, (Aligarh, 1958), pp. 11, 23.
3. According to Maulana Miyan Mansur Burhan Khan, the army mustered by Saiyid Muhammad con isted of only 313 soldiers, the number which the Prophet is said to have enrolled for the battle of Badr, and that the Kafir Raja himself invaded Jaunpur, for the Sultan, at the instance of Saiyid Muhammad, had not paid tributes. (*Jannat ul-Wilayat*, p. 14).

His throbbing heart fell out of his body on the ground. Saiyid Muhammad noticed that the heart of the Rai carried the outline of the idol which he worshipped. He was strongly moved, and remarked, "The Almighty be praised. When an idol can leave its deep impressions on one's heart, what would be the state of affairs if the light of the Almighty were manifested?" He was overpowered by strong ecstatic feelings and remained in a state of spiritual trance for twelve years. During this period he was dutifully served by his wife—Bibi Allah Dei. Legend claims that for the first seven years he took no food or water but only performed prayers with the help of his wife at fixed hours; but that during the last five years he usually took only a little food and water and performed *Namaz* without taking anybody's help. It is said that Sultan Husain Sharqi sent a *farman* relating to the award of seven towns for the servants of his *Dargah* through the *Qazi* but the Saiyid expressed his disapproval of the royal gesture by tearing the *farman* to pieces.[1]

Modern Mahdawi authors have laboured hard to prove the authenticity of the legend, which is recounted in all the earlier and later Mahdawi sources. The year of the battle with Rai Dalpat is fixed by them as *ca* 875/1470-71, when Saiyid Muhammad was twenty-eight years old. The existence of a ruler of Gaur named Dalpat is supported neither by literary nor by numismatic or other sources. Sultan Husain had invaded Orissa by way of Tirhut in the beginning of his reign and had crushed the rulers of Tirhut. Kapilendra Deva (1435-1467) was forced to sue for peace and had to part with a large treasure as its price.[2] Sultan Husain had a big army and remained a terror to Sultan Bahlul Lodi till as late as 878/1473-74. He was as reckless in his speech as in his ambitions[3]; hence his paying tribute or owing allegiance to either the ruler of Gaur or to other neighbouring *zamindars* is highly improbable. The Mahdawi traditions are thus nothing but a legend to prove that Saiyid Muhammad, like the Prophet, waged religious wars against the infidels. The author of the family history of the rulers of Palanpur,

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 23-33; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 13-18; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 42-52.

2. Mujumdar R. C., Pusalker A. D., and Majumdar A. K.: *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960), p. 191.

3. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad: *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. III, pp. 284-285; Firishta: *Gulshan i-Ibrahimi* (Lucknow), VII *Maqala*, pp. 310-311; Rizvi: *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II (Aligarh, 1959), pp. 10, 22-23.

who followed the Mahdawi tenets, has stated that Rai Dalpat was the Raja of Tirhut[1], but this is simply a surmise.

According to Mahdawi traditions, Saiyid Muhammad, inspite of the zealous dissuasions of Sultan Husain Sharqi, left Jaunpur in 887/1482 at the age of forty, under divine inspiration, with his family and some friends. It is said that at Danapur his wife, his son Saiyid Mahmud, and a follower, Miyan Shah Dilawar, received a divine call to declare Saiyid Muhammad as the Mahdi. Saiyid Muhammad confirmed their inspiration but desired the declaration to be made in accordance with the divine ordinance at the proper time.[2] From Danapur they reached Kalpi and Chanderi, thence to Mandu in 892/1486-87. The people of Mandu gathered in large numbers around him. Credulous[3] Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji (873/1469—906/1500) expressed to Saiyid Muhammad through a messenger his inability to pay his respects to him in person even though extremely desirous of doing so, being under the surveillance of his son Nasir ud-Din (1500-1511). Consequently, he requested the Saiyid to send one or two of his disciples to him so that he might be benefited by them. Saiyid Muhammad accordingly deputed Miyan Saiyid Salamullah and Miyan Abu Bakr to see the Sultan. The latter showered silver and gold coins over them and enquired about Saiyid Muhammad in detail. Their replies convinced the Sultan that Saiyid Muhammad was the promised Mahdi. The Sultan despatched immense wealth as *Futuh* to Saiyid Muhammad but to the utter surprise of all, the Saiyid, far from keeping the wealth for himself or even for his followers, distributed it among those, who had brought it, without casting even a glance at it.[4] When the people enquired about the motive behind

1. Saiyid Gulab Miyan : *Tarikh Palanpur* (Delhi, 1912), p. 18.
2. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 36-37 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 19-20 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 52-53.
3. A man, who brought him the hoof of an ass and claimed that it belonged to the same animal which Christ rode, received 50,000 *tankas* for the hoof. He fell a prey to three other cheats whom he paid 50,000 *tankas* each. When a fifth trickster brought another hoof he was also similarly paid 50,000 *tankas*. Thereupon one of the royal attendants remarked that perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs ; to which the Sultan replied that perhaps that last vendor of the hoof might be telling the truth, while one of the others might have been wrong. [Nizam ud-Din Ahmad : *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 353-354 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, (Aligarh, 1959), p. 94].
4. This story appears to have been fabricated to prove the tradition regarding the munificence of Saiyid Muhammad (*cf. Supra*, p. 70). A tradition ascribed to Jabir says, "The Messenger of God said : 'At the end of my nation, there will

his so doing, he remarked that his followers were interested in seeking the Almighty without caring for material prosperity and as such they didn't require anything else. One of his companions, however, was tempted to keep some money with him. After the crowd had dispersed Saiyid Muhammad enquired about him. The companion repented for his sin and placed the money before the Saiyid who distributed it equally amongst his companions. Thereupon they went away to make purchases but failed to return in time for the congregational prayer. This lapse on the part of his followers infuriated the Saiyid very much and he remarked, "Only the Almighty knows what the state of affairs would have been, had the entire money been distributed."[1] Miyan Alahdad Hamid, an eminent poet and companion of Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji, renounced the world to enter the fold of Saiyid Muhammad.[2] He wrote a number of treatises in prose and verse which led to the wide popularity of Mahdawi tenets.[3]

Reaching Champanir from Mandu, he again became the centre of attraction of the people who flocked to him to hear his sermons in Jama Masjid and to be benefited by his message of renunciation and the love of God. Sultan Mahmud Begarha (863/1459—917/1511) was also said to have been attracted towards the sermons of Saiyid Muhammad and desired to visit him but could not, due to the manoeuverings of the Ulama. He is said to have stayed there for about one and a half years.

Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, who has given a sympathetic account of the Mahdawis, some of whom he knew intimately, has explicitly mentioned that Saiyid Muhammad left Jaunpur in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) and later on reached Gujarat. According to him, the Saiyid did not declare himself the Mahdi there, but his

be a caliph who will not count money, but just throw it around." (Rosenthal, F: *The Muqaddimah*, p. 169). Another tradition recounted in the works of al-Tirmizi, Ibn Majah, and al-Hakim tells, "Some one will come to the Mahdi and say to him: '0 Mahdi, give me something." He said: "And (the Mahdi) will pour into his garment as much as he can carry." (*Ibid.*, p. 168).

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 44-47 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 21-26 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 59-64.
2. *Najat ur-Rashid*, p. 26; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 65.
3. The following works are ascribed to him by Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Burhan ud-Din, the author of *Shawahid ul-Wilayat* : (a) *Risala Bar i-Amanat*, *Risala Dar Subut i-Mahdiyat*, *Marsiya i-Mahdi Mauud* and a *Diwan* containing verses of undotted letters. (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 65). Maulawi Saiyid Isa Mahdawi had published his *Diwan*.

disciples maintained that he was the promised Mahdi. Sultan Mahmud Begarha, father of Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati, who was himself *Mufassir*, *Muhaddis*, *Alim* and *Adil*,[1] visited him but subsequently he not only disallowed him to stay there but also banished him to Mecca at the instance of the Ulama.[2] If the date given in Mahdawi sources regarding Saiyid Muhammad's departure from Jaunpur in 883/1478 and his arrival in Mecca in 901/1495-96 are accepted, it makes his itinerancy very prolonged and improbable. It is, therefore, most likely that he might have left Jaunpur after 894/1489 in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and reached Mecca in 901 /1495-96. In Mecca he might have been prompted to give vent to his mystic feelings and to declare himself the Mahdi, an event he and his protagonists might have been waiting for for a long time in view of the popularity of the traditions associated with the appearance of the Mahdi. His declaration cannot therefore be linked up with any political or religious upheaval in India which some modern scholars are prone to present as a back-ground of Saiyid Muhammad's claim.

Saiyid Muhammad's declaration to be the promised Mahdi has been ascribed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to the chaotic and shaky political conditions which preceded the reign of Akbar. He says, "Ninth century Hijri prior to the reign of Akbar was a period of great tumult, confusion and unrest. The rise and fall of kingdoms was an everyday feature. There was no central government strong enough to vouchsafe the promulgation and protection of the ordinances of *Shara*. The worldly-minded Ulama were far superior in number to the God-fearing Ulama. Materialism, fraud and deceit were rampant. To crown them all, the *Bidat* and the unlawful activities of the ignorant Sufis had made confusion worse confounded and misled the people. Seeing this, Saiyid Muhammad raised his voice for the revival of *Shariat* and the establishment of the lawful."[3]

Another modern scholar, taking the same line of argument and apparently impressed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's surmises, reiterates, "The movement of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri was in reality the heralder of a great revolt against his immediate environment. The epidemic of materialism was rampant everywhere. Infringement and violation of the *Shariat* was registering a rapid rise everyday. *Ulama i-Su* had girt their loins up to heap insult after insult on religion and

1. Commentator, traditionist, learned and just.
2. Badauni : *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript), f. 37b.
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad : *Tazkira*, pp. 45-46.

they were seducing the simple people from the right path. The Sufis had sought the lawfulness of their misdeeds in the difference between *Shariat* and *Tariqat*. Kings and nobles were steeped in debauchery and licentiousness. Such a state of affairs had injured his sensitive heart so much and made it so uneasy that he decided to sacrifice everything for the elevation of the word of God."[1]

This picture, however, hardly fits in with the conditions obtaining in either Delhi or Gujarat. Northern India had gained considerable political stability under Sultan Sikandar Lodi and the storm of confusion and disorder, which prevailed at the end of the Sharqi rule, due to the constant struggle with the Lodis, had subsided. Even in Gujarat where Saiyid had openly declared himself the Mahdi, peace and prosperity were the order of the day. The learning, piety and religious-mindedness of Sultan Mahmud Begarha have been extolled by all the contemporary and later historians. It was not, therefore, the immediate political or social environment which had influenced Saiyid Muhammad but rather the mystic hopes entertained by Muslims everywhere regarding the advent of the Mahdi due to the approach of the Millennium.[2] Leaving Gujarat he, according to Mahdawi sources, reached Daulatabad via Burhanpur and visited the tombs of eminent saints lying buried there.[3] Afterwards, he reached Ahmadnagar. Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah I (1490-1508) ruled there and the construction of the Bagh i-Nizam fort was in hand. The Sultan paid a visit to the Saiyid to seek his blessings for the birth of a son. A son who was named Burhan Nizam Shah I (1508-1553) was said to have consequently been born to him.[4] This incident is placed by the Mahdawis in 899/1493-94 or 900/1494-95. The construction of Ahmadnagar fort commenced in 900H. Burhan Nizam Shah was only seven years old when he ascended the throne after his father's death[5] in 914/1508-9. It is, therefore, very

1. K. A. Nizami : *Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 270.
2. Blochmann had also a similar story to narrate. He says, "The fall of Jaunpur was to him a sign that the latter days had come ; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career ; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, '*Anta Mahdi*'—thou art Mahdi." (Blochmann : *The Ain i-Akbari*, p. V). In his book Dr. Yasin has reproduced verbatim, with only minor changes here and there, Blochmann's account of the Mahdawis. (*A Social History of Islamic India*, pp. 134-139, *cf.* Blochmann : *The Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. IV-VIII.)
3. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 27-29.
4. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 29-30 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 74-75.
5. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 31-34 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 76-84.

unlikely that Burhan Nizam Shah had been born on account of the blessings of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur.

Saiyid Muhammad then reached Bidar. He had impressed Shaikh Maman Tawakkuli, Mulla Ziya, Qazi Ala ud-Din, Qazi Muntakhab and a number of Alims to the extent that they thought him to be the promised Mahdi. Of them, Qazi Muntakhab wrote a treatise upholding the tenets of Mahdiism. From Ahmadnagar, he reached Gulbarga and paid a visit to the shrine of Makhdum Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz.

Thence he boarded a ship for Mecca with his 360 followers in 901/1495-96. On account of his immense faith in the Almighty he did not allow his followers to take provisions or even water with them, with the result that they all suffered great hardships. After circumambulating the Kaba in 901/1495-96, he openly declared between *Rukn*[1] and *Maqam*[2] that he was the Mahdi. Shah Nizam and Qazi Ala ud-Din, two of Saiyid Muhammad's companions, and one Arab professed fealty to him. This is known as the first open declaration of his claims to be the Mahdi.

He did not stay at Mecca for more than a few months and, without visiting Medina returned to India and reached Ahmadabad where he stayed in the mosque of Taj Khan *bin* Salar, situate near Jamalpur gate.[3] He lived there for about eighteen months.[4]

Like other Alims or Sufis he did not indulge in theological or mystical squabbles ; nor did he pay much attention to the works on *Fiqh*, *Tafsir*, *Hadis* or Sufism. He invited the people to the obligatory prayers and constant *Zikr* of the Almighty. His own poverty, renunciation and utter reliance on God as well as that of his companions and followers proved the worldly-mindedness of the Ulama and Sufis. A

1. The black stone at Mecca or the Corner of the Kaba.
2. Name of a place where Abraham prayed. Saiyid Muhammad had probably the following tradition of Umm i-Salimah in view : "There will be a difference of opinion at the death of a Caliph. A man from Madina will leave and flee to Mecca. People from Mecca will come to him and will drive him out. He will be unwilling. They will render the oath of allegiance to him between the Corner (*Rukn*) of the Kaba and the *Muqam* Ibrahim."
3. Sikandar b. Muhammad alias Manjhu b. Akbar : *Mirat i-Sikandari* (Bombay, 1308/1890-91), p. 136 ; Abdullah Muhammad b. Umar al-Haj ud-Dabir : *Zafar ul-Waleh* (An Arabic History of Gujarat) (London, 1910), p. 34 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II Hindi, (Aligarh, 1959), pp. 345, 349.
4. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 36-41 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 89-94.

huge crowd would generally assemble to listen spell-bound to his sermons.[1] The general belief possessing the mind of the Muslims regarding the appearance of the Mahdi was largely responsible for swelling the ranks of his disciples and followers.

Amongst the eminent people who enrolled themselves as the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad in Ahmadabad were Malik Burhan ud-Din and Malik Gauhar Badr ul-Arifin.[2] Badr ul-Arifin Hazrat Saiyid Jeo, son of Saiyid Mahmud, son of Qutb ul-Alam Saiyid Burhan ud-Din,[3] an eminent saint of Gujarat, also visited Saiyid Muhammad. The Saiyid started the conversation by reciting a verse from the *Quran* suiting the occasion, followed by the recitation of another verse by the Shaikh in reply. The Saiyid again read another verse and the Shaikh again reciprocated. The exchange of the recitation of verses continued three times. Afterwards, the Shaikh took leave of him. One of his disciples asked him concerning the Saiyid. He replied, "Saiyid Muhammad is a man possessed of some degree of saintly or mystic ecstasy, and his talks are above the comprehension of common people gathering around him and can be followed only by special type of people". From what he had seen of him he thought that after his death there would arise great confusion due to misunderstandings on the part of his followers.[4]

On account of the Saiyid's magnetic personality, Sultan Mahmud Begarha again desired to visit the Saiyid, but his nobles prevailed upon him to give up his desire in the interest of his kingdom. A mere look at the Saiyid's appearance or at his followers was strong enough to bring about conversion of the people to Mahdiism. This is illustrated by the following anecdote related both in *Mirat i-Sikandari* and *Zafar ul-Waleh*.

It is said that once a licentious fellow went to the house of his beloved to satisfy his sexual lust but in vain. At the end of the night he

1. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 96.
2. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 99-107.
3. Qutb ul-Alam Saiyid Burhan ud-Din was the grandson of Makhdum Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalal Bukhari (*d.* 785/1384). He was highly venerated by his contemporaries in Gujarat where he died in 857/1453.(Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi : *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 161).
4. Sikandar b. Muhammad 'Manjhu' ibn Akbar : *Mirat i-Sikandari* (Bombay, 1308/1890-91), pp. 136-137; Abdullah Muhammad b. Umar al-Haj ud-Dabir : *Zafar ul-Waleh*, pp. 34-35 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, pp. 345, 429. This seems to have been put in the mouth of the Shaikh by those who were sick of the ascendancy of Saiyid Muhammad's disciples in Gujarat.

returned to his home badly intoxicated, with a sword in hand and in a desperate mood. Early in the morning he reached near Sabarmati river where the Saiyid and his followers were putting up. He enquired of them why they were there and what they were doing. The Saiyid replied," One who returns disappointed and desperate from his beloved's house can follow the right path under our guidance." A state of trance overtook the man and he lapsed into unconsciousness for some time. On regaining his consciousness he repented for his sins and renounced the world.[1] Later on he became an eminent disciple of Saiyid Muhammad.[2]

One day the Saiyid claimed that he could show the Lord to the world with their "eyes of the flesh."[3] This assertion was too much for the Ulama of Ahmadabad to put up with. So they obtained a *fatwa* to kill him. All the Ulama signed *fatwas* for his death except Maulana Muhammad Taj who was the greatest Alim and teacher of his day. He questioned the wisdom of the Ulama in having acquired knowledge only to give *fatwa* against a Saiyid.[4]

According to the later Mahdawi sources, Saiyid Muhammad declared himself the Mahdi again at Ahmadabad[5] in 903/1497-98 and the Ulama could neither dispute his claim of showing the Almighty nor of his being the Mahdi. Unable to defeat the Saiyid in theological discussions, the Ulama sought to have recourse to persecution and other vindictive methods. They represented to the Sultan, "Many of the Ulama, *Amirs*, *Wazirs*, princes and princesses, *Shaikhzadas* and soldiers have renounced the world and joined the fold of the Saiyid under his influence. This state of affairs may encourage the robbers and the enemies to start their depredations in and around Gujarat. It will spell ruin to the state if the Saiyid is allowed to continue his discourses about the 'Divine' Realities in Ahmadnagar." With these words they prevailed upon the Sultan to issue a decree for the banishment of Saiyid Muhammad. When the orders were conveyed to the Saiyid he remarked, "It is not possible to relate the 'Divine Realities.' If I were to relate

1. *Mirat i-Sikandari*, p. 125 ; *Zafar ul-Waleh*, p. 36 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, pp. 345, 431.
2. According to Mahdawi sources he was Shah Dilawar, sister's son of Sultan Mahmud Begarha. (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 97).
3. *cf.* A discussion on *Ruyat* (On the Vision of God) by Gesu Daraz; *cf. Asmar ul-Asrar*. He preached that a Sufi could see the vision of God even when he was awake; and strongly criticised the Ulama's stand-point on the subject.
4. *Mirat i-Sikandari*, p. 138 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, p. 346.
5. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 113.

the 'Divine Realities', all would be burnt to ashes. I only discuss the *Shariat* of Prophet Muhammad."[1]

He thereupon left the place and settled in a village named Sola Santej in the vicinity of Ahmadabad. There one Miyan Nimat of the Banyani tribe, reputed for indulging in highway robbery, enrolled himself as a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad. From there the Saiyid moved to Soda which lay in between Ahmadabad and Patan and thence reached Patan, and put up near the *Hauz* of Khan Sarwar. A large number of people including Ulama, mystics and *Majzubs* confirmed his claim of being the Mahdi. Of the disciples who entered the fold of Mahdawis there, Miyan Saiyid Khwandamir, who belonged to the same line of the Saiyids from which Saiyid Muhammad was descended, was the most eminent. The next place of his stay was Barli, where Saiyid Muhammad lived for one and a half years and declared himself the Mahdi. This was the third open declaration, as recounted in the Mahdawi sources, which took place in 905/1499-1500 and is called *Dawa i-Muakkada* (confirmatory claim) by the Mahdawis.[2] Saiyid Muhammad,

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 70-73 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 54-57 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 117-118; Bandagi Miyan Wali : *Insaf Nama* (Hyderabad Deccan, 1368 H.), p. 318. It is said that when the royal order was shown to Saiyid Muhammad, he replied in Gujarati "*Achche Ji Achche*. The *farman* of your king is for you. The *farman* of our king has also been received that I should move out further."

2. *Sirat*, pp. 72-86 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 59-61; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 118-164. These various declarations of Saiyid Muhammad are specifically mentioned in later Mahdawi sources probably to reconcile his claim with the traditions regarding the total number of years which the Mahdi was expected to rule. *Supra*, p. 70. *cf.* The tradition of Abu Hurairah related by Abu Ya'la-'Mawsili in his *Musnad*. Abu Hurairah said, "My friend Abu'l Qasim (the Prophet) said: 'The hour will not arise before there shall have come forth against them a man from my family. He will beat them until they return to the truth.' He said, 'And I asked : 'How long will he rule?' He replied : Five and two.' He said, 'And I asked : 'What is meant by five and two ?' He replied : 'I don't know'." (Rosenthal : *The Muqaddimah*, p. 182). Another tradition of Abu Hurairah also tells, "In my nation, there will be the Mahdi. If he lives (among you) only a short time, it will be seven, eight or nine." (*Ibid.*, p. 181) Another tradition recounted in the works of al-Tirmizi, Ibn i-Majah and al-Hakim tells, "We feared that something might happen after our Prophet (had died). Therefore we asked him, and he said : 'In my nation, there will come forth the Mahdi. He will live five, or seven or nine'—increasing the number , as if in doubt." He said : "We asked what (the numbers meant)"? He replied: 'Years'." The authors of the later Mahdawi works claim that Saiyid Muhammad declared himself Mahdi in 901 H., 903 H. and 905 H.,

in a very big assembly of Ulama, Sufis, *Amirs*, *Khans* and common people declared that he was not making that claim on the basis of some vision or in a sub-conscious state. He would rather say that he had received repeated injunctions from the Almighty direct to declare himself the promised Mahdi, even though he was hesitant to do so. But he found that he was being accused by the Almighty of being afraid of the people and not of Him.[1] In order to lend more emphasis to his declaration he reiterated his claim in the local Gujarati dialect.[2]

He wrote a letter to the Sultan and strongly refuted the charge of being insane or being unconscious. He rather asserted most emphatically about his being hale and hearty, free from disease and want, conscious and perfectly in his senses. He claimed that the Almighty had given him the knowledge of the ancient and modern sages, had made him defender of Muhammad's religion and had given him the keys of the treasure of faith; that he was commissioned to invite the people to follow him; that those who did so would be regarded believers and those who did not would be regarded as *kafirs*; that recognizing him would mean recognizing the Almighty. He very explicitly declared that those who did not believe Saiyid Muhammad, son of Saiyid Abdullah, alias Saiyid Khan, to be the Mahdi were *kafirs*. He would catch hold of

the last being the *Dawa i-Muakkada* (confirmatory claim دعوۂ موکدہ). The earlier works *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud* and *Matla ul-Wilayat* do not specifically mention these different declarations. As a matter of fact Saiyid Muhammad openly declared himself the Mahdi only for the first time at Barli. (*Mirat i-Sikandari*, p. 137; *Zafar ul-Waleh*, p. 36; Rizvi: *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, pp. 347, 432). *Jannat ul-Wilayat* also confirms the view. According to its author, Saiyid Muhammad was commissioned by the Almighty to declare himself the Mahdi at the age of forty but he continued to postpone it, till he became 58 years old and was peremptorily ordained by the Almighty to do so, for the tenth century Hijri had commenced and the following predictions had to be fulfilled. "God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person in this nation (Islam) who would renew the religion and in the tenth century the hero shall be none but the Mahdi." The author has quoted it on the basis of the *Malfuzat* of Gisu Daraz but the tradition has been drawn from the *Sunan* of Abu Daud. The last clause "and in the... but Mahdi" does not exist in the original. According to Maulana Miyan Mansur the *Tarikh i-Tabari* also predicted the appearance of Mahdi in 905H. (*Jannat ul-Wilayat*, pp. 30-31). The modern Mahdawi authors insist that the original copy of *Tarikh i-Tabari* or at least the copy used by Maulana Miyan Mansur Khan must have contained the above prediction.

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 85-86; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 60; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 166.
2. '*Agar Kahlata Hai To Kahla Nahin To Zalimon men ka Karunga*'

اگر کہلاتا ھے تو کہلا نہیں تو ظالمون میں کا کرونگا

Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud, p. 86; *Matla ul-Wiilayat*, p. 60.

12

his skin with his two fingers and say, "One who disbelieved me as the Mahdi is a *kafir* and consequently that would mean a disbelief in Muhammad, all the prophets, divine scriptures, *Quran* and the Almighty."[1] About 360 of his devoted followers corroborated his claim.

Mulla Muin ud-Din, an orthodox Alim, alongwith some others began to oppose Saiyid Muhammad openly. Thereupon Saiyid Muhammad returned to Patan and challenged the Mulla to face him in an open religious discussion in Jama Masjid if he so desired ; but the Mulla did not even dare come out of his house and so Saiyid Muhammad had to return back to Barli. The people taunted the Mulla for withdrawing. The Mulla allegedly replied that he was conscious of the hollowness of his own knowledge and was bound to be convinced about the validity of Saiyid's claim, which in turn would have certainly helped the Saiyid to win over to his faith the rest of the people including the king and the nobles, causing thereby the ruin of the whole of Gujarat. When the matter was reported to Saiyid Muhammad he replied that the Mulla ought to have taken care of his own faith rather than of the elephant stable of the King.[2] Saiyid's prompt replies to the questions posed by a body of Ulama at Barli are said to have convinced them of the tenets of the Mahdawis. A large number of Muslims belonging to the Bayani, Hulachi, Pauladi, Zandran, Qibchaq, Multani, Bhatti, Banyani, Karari, Moel and Bhitan tribes and other artisans and soldiers were said to have been converted to Mahdawi religion.[3]

When he was ordered to leave Gujarat by the Sultan at the instance of the Ulama, he remarked, "On the Day of Judgment the faces of the rulers and Alims shall be blackened. If I am on the right path, I should have been helped by them; if otherwise, I should have been imprisoned. They should have discussed matters with me and put me on the right path. If they could not bring me to the right course, they ought to have killed me, for wherever I would go, I would preach my tenets which according to them would mean misguiding the people. The consequences of that would recoil on them".[4]

1. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 86-88 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 61-63; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 163-164.
2. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 82-83 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 54-55 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 173-175.
3. Gulab Miyan : *Tarikh i-Palanpur.*
4. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, p. 87; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 62 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 184 ; *Jannat ul-Wilayat*, pp. 34-35. He did not spare even the past saints.

Saiyid Muhammad first of all intended to go to Delhi but later on preferred to go to Khurasan, for it had acquired great importance as a centre of learning on account of Sultan Husain Mirza[1]; and more publicity could be expected there. From Barli he reached Jalor. Its governor, Zubdat ul-Mulk, with his nobles and retinue, according to Mahdawi sources, accepted him as the promised Mahdi and the latter also blessed him and his descendants. This, however, is again inconsistent with available records. Zubdat ul-Mulk Diwan Usman had died in 889/1484 and Saiyid Muhammad reached Jalor in 906/1500 or 907/1501. Malik Buddhan Khan was then the Governor of Jalor. It appears that the Mahdawi sources have confused Malik Buddhan Khan with Zubdat ul-Mulk Diwan Usman Khan.[2]

Saiyid Muhammad, however, travelling through Jaisalmir, Nagor[3] and Nasrpur in Sindh reached Thatta, where he stayed for eighteen months. The Ulama prevailed upon Jam Nanda (866/1461-62 to 914/1508-9)[4], the Summa ruler of Sindh, to kill Saiyid Muhammad and his followers but he did not approve of it. Qazi Qazan and Shaikh Sadr ud-Din, two eminent Alims of Sindh, along with other Ulama enrolled themselves as the followers of the Mahdi. Here he declared to Qazi

Regarding Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, an eminent saint of Gujarat (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 156-161), he would remark that he was able to leave the world with sound faith only after great struggle (پہلوانی کردہ بادھنگی مشتی ایمان بردہ اند) (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 111).

1. He died on 11th Zilhijja 911H (5th May 1506). Babur says, "His was a wonderful Age; in it Khurasan, and Heri above all, was full of learned and matchless men. Whatever the work a man took up, he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection." Babur has given a vivid account of the achievements of some of the eminent poets, learned men, saints and artists who flourished in his court. (Beveridge, A. S. : *The Babur Nama in English* (London, 1922), pp. 283-293 ; Rizvi, S. A. A.: *Mughul Kalin Bharat—Babur* (Hindi), pp. 572-596).
2. Gulab Miyan has discussed the issue at some length and, commenting upon the inaccuracies of the Mahdawi literature, has surmised that Zubdat ul-Mulk might have accepted Saiyid Muhammad as the promised Mahdi in 887/1482 or 888/1483 when the latter, after leaving Jaunpur, reached Champanir ; but the surmise cannot be reconciled with the Mahdawi literature. (Saiyid Gulab Miyan : *Tarikh i-Palanpur*, pp. 28-31).
3. According to Saiyid Gulab Miyan and some other modern Mahdawi authors Shaikh Mubarak Nagori also came in contact with Saiyid Muhammad when he reached Nagor and embraced the Mahdawi tenets. (Gulab Miyan : *Tarikh i-Palanpur*, pp. 30-31). The story is untenable as Shaikh Mubarak Nagori was born in 1505, the year of the death of Saiyid Muhammad.
4. Hodivala, H. S. : *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. I, (Bombay, 1939), p. 103.

Qazan, "The Almighty belongs to him who yearns for Him." From Thatta he marched towards Khurasan through a very hazardous route. Khwandamir, Shah Nimat and some other disciples were asked to return to Gujarat. About 900 families were with him, of whom there were 360 eminent disciples who had to undergo immense privations but they all bore them up with utmost resignation. They reached Qandahar,[1] then under Mirza Shah Beg Arghun[2], son of Mir Zun-nun[3], who summoned him to the Jama Masjid on Friday to justify the claims, he had made there. Mirza Shah Beg himself met the Saiyid with other Ulama after the congregational prayer. Shah Beg was also said to have been highly impressed by Saiyid Muhammad's discourse on the *Quran* and embraced the tenets of the Mahdawis.[4]

1. It is said that when Saiyid Muhammad reached Qandahar, one of his disciples told him, "This is 'Ajam and we are Hindis. Neither we know their language nor they ours. It may therefore be advisable to keep the claim of being the Mahdi secret. When we begin to follow each other's language and find them paying attention to us, at that time the claim of being the Mahdi could be made public." Saiyid Muhammad replied, "If I claim to be the Mahdi on your support, I shall follow your advice ; but if my claim is based on the Almighty's strength, it would, God willing, be known to every one." (*Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 75 ; *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 119-120.)
2. Mirza Shah Beg Arghun (*d.* 1524), son of Mir Shaikh Zun-nun Beg Arghun (*d.* 1507), was highly favoured by Sultan Husain Mirza who joined him with his father in the government of Qandahar somewhat against Zun-nun Beg's wishes. Babur finally defeated him in 928/1522 and captured Qandahar. Shah Beg thereupon founded the Arghun dynasty of Sindh with Bhakkar as its capital. He had written a number of theological works. [Nizam ud-Din Ahmad: *Tabaqat i-Akbari*. Vol. III (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 517-520 ; Muhammad Masum Bhakkari : *Tarikh i-Sindh* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 112-120 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II (Aligarh, 1959), pp. 473-477 ; Beveridge, A. S. : *The Babur Nama in English*, pp. 274, 337-338 ; Rizvi, S. A. A. : *Mughul Kalin Bharat—Babur* (Hindi), pp. 32, 57, 78-83, 114, 116, 119, 120, 346, 350, 378, 381.]
3. Mir Shaikh Zun-nun Beg Arghun was one of the nobles of Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat. He was killed by the Uzbegs in 913/1507. Babur says, "He was orthodox and no neglecter of the Prayers, indeed made the extra ones. He was made for chess ; he played it according to his own fancy and if others played with one hand, he played with both. Avarice and stinginess ruled in his character." [Beveridge, A. S. : *The Babur Nama in English* (London, 1922), pp. 202, 274, 276, 326, 327 ; Rizvi, S. A. A. : *Mughul Kalin Bharat—Babur* (Hindi), pp. 5, 10, 32, 54, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 83, 344, 346, 350, 357, 358, 378, 381, 575.]
4. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 120-122 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 77-79 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 215-217.

At Farah[1] Mir Zun-nun Arghun ruled on behalf of Abul Ghazi Sultan Husain Mirza (1469-1506) of Herat. Before the arrival of Saiyid Muhammad two or three people had claimed themselves to be the Mahdi but they were done to death at the instance of Mir Zun-nun. He decided to see Saiyid Muhammad with a huge retinue and intended to kill him in case he was influenced by the regal force and grandeur; but the Sultan's expectations, according to the Mahdawi sources, were belied as the Saiyid was too elevated a soul to be overawed by the display of royal pomp. Mir Zun-nun told Saiyid Muhammad that he did not object to his calling himself the Mahdi in the literal sense of the word, but if the Saiyid claimed himself to be the promised Mahdi, the claim ought to be supported by valid proofs and convincing evidences. The Saiyid retorted that his duty was only to preach and it was left to the Almighty to convince others. Mir Zun-nun said that one of the signs of the Mahdi was that sword, fire or water would have no effect on him.[2] The Saiyid replied that the sense of the tradition was that nobody would be able to kill the Mahdi. Mir Zun-nun had previously ordered one of his slaves to kill Saiyid Muhammad as soon as the question would be put to him. The slave tried his best to strike Saiyid Muhammad but the Saiyid's personality had a hypnotising effect on him, with the result that he could not raise his hand. Mir Zun-nun was so deeply moved by Saiyid Muhammad that he became his ardent follower. He is said to have offered to wield the sword whenever he was required to do so to annihilate the opponents of the Mahdi, but Saiyid Muhammad did not allow him saying that the supporter of the Mahdi was the Almighty, and advised him to wield the sword over his own inordinate desires so that he might not be misled.[3]

1. A town in Herat province (Afghanistan) situated on the bank of the Farah Rud River, which flows in a south-westerly direction into the Sistan Hamun. Farah, although decayed, is still a place of some importance, and is the junction of several caravan routes and the centre of a fertile district. It was formerly the capital of Drangiana, and was included in the medieval province of Sijistan, but is not included in modern Sistan. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*).
2. The tradition tells that "If any one struck Mahdi with the sword, in the street, the weapon would be unable to penetrate the Mahdi's flesh, and would effect no injury." It is said that this story was propagated in Kufa most enthusiastically by the adventurer Mukhtar but Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, whom Mukhtar supported, did not fail to regard this as a threat that if he came to Kufa he would be assassinated, whence he kept away. (Ibn Sa'd quoted by D. S. Margoliouth : *On Mahdis and Mahdiism*, p. 5).
3. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, pp. 126-128 ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 81-84 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 218-228.

After his arrival in Farah his fame reached the four corners of the city and his popularity with the masses, who would flock to him in large numbers, attained to great heights. Shaikh ul-Islam of Herat selected two of his eminent disciples[1] and deputed them to make enquiries about Saiyid Muhammad. They prepared the following questionnaire :

1. Which of the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence did he follow ?
2. Did he claim to see the Almighty in this very world ?
3. Did he claim that he was the Mahdi ?

When the disciples of Shaikh ul-Islam reached the assembly of Saiyid Muhammad, he was discoursing on the following verse from the *Quran* : "Oh Ye People Adore your Guardian—the Lord, who created you, And those who came before you, That ye may have the chance to learn righteousness."[2]

The issues, which the disciples of Shaikh ul-Islam proposed to raise, were satisfactorily explained by the Saiyid in connection with the discourse on this verse. It so amazed and astounded them that they did not consider it proper to question him. Saiyid Muhammad encouraged them to put the questions and desired them to treat it as their duty ; for they were deputed to convey the message to him. They submitted the questionnaire to him. To the first question he replied, "Taken in a wider sense my religion is identical with that of the Almighty while from the point of view of *Taqlid*[3], I follow the religion of the Prophet of God. As Prophet Muhammad was deputed to prohibit idolatry, my mission is to reject the *Ajsam*[4] and I am to remove the differences (of various schools of jurisprudence). Had the great Masters of the schools of jurisprudence been my contemporaries, they would have followed none but my exposition of the truth of the Almighty."[5] To

1. According to Mahdawi sources four Ulama were deputed, i.e. (a) Mulla Ali Faiyaz, (b) Mulla Muhammad Sherwani, (c) Mulla Darwesh Muhammad Herati, (d) Abdus-Samad Hamadani or Haji Muhammad Khurasani or Mulla Ali Sherwani, or Mulla Darwesh Muhammad Herati.
2. *Quran*, S. II. 21.
3. Strict obedience to religious authority.
4. "Solid bodies" or "material substances". But here "eminent authorities" are implied.
5. من حیث الاطلاق مذهب خدائی تعالی ومن حیث التقلید مذهب رسول صلی الله علیه وسلم
داریم چنانچه پیغمبر علیه السلام مبعوث برای نفی اصنام بود ومن مبعوث برای نفی اجسام
ورافع اختلافم، اگر اصحاب مذهب درین زمان بودند درحقائق الهی ومعارف یقینی غیراز
متابعت نمی کردند

(*Najat ur-Rashid*).

the second question he answered, "Everyone believes in the vision of the Almighty in one's heart which is known as *Mushahida*. Similarly, it is possible to behold Him with the eyes in this very world. Prophet Muhammad himself was able to see the Almighty in this 'abode of trial'. Likewise, one who has merged one's own self and attributes in the Prophet and has absolutely effaced one's self can be granted the gift of seeing the Almighty. References are available in books where the sages have recorded their having seen God. It is surprising that they all are regarded as Muslims and no one disbelieves them. Mostly these utterances are glossed over. It is not essential for me to have recourse to glossing over. There is no harm in this expression. I, on the other hand, hold that wherever 'Oh ye of Faith[1]' is expressed in the *Quran*, the believers meant are those who have seen the Almighty with their eyes while fully awake or in sleep. If a believer is not able to rise to such eminence, he should at least appear impatient for the attainment of the vision of the Almighty in dreams or should feel he is acquiring the opportunity of seeing Him." Anyone who had not obtained one of the four degrees was, according to him, not to be regarded as a true believer. To the third question he replied that, divinely commissioned as he was, he did not hesitate in declaring himself the Mahdi. Having perceived Saiyid Muhammad's utter absorption in the Almighty and his supernatural power, the Ulama forgot their religious squabbles and, joining the fold of the Mahdawis, communicated to Shaikh ul-Islam that Saiyid Muhammad was 'one of the symbols of the Almighty'. The envoys found the knowledge which they had acquired during the preceding years to be of little importance in the presence of the Saiyid so they persuaded Shaikh ul-Islam to personally pay respects to him.[2] Mahdawi sources depict Shaikh ul-Islam as having set out for Farah to ascertain the truth of the Saiyid's claims, but he had hardly reached Sabziwar[3] when he was posted with the news of the death of Saiyid Muhammad, which took place on Monday the 19 Ziqada, 910/23 April, 1505, and he returned[4]. A large number of the disciples of Saiyid

1. "Oh ye of Faith" has been used at about seventy-six places in the *Quran*. [*Miftah ul-Quran* (Lahore), p. 16.] It is a general form of address used in the *Quran*.
2. *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj Manuscript, Aligarh University.)
3. Sabziwar of Herat, known as Afsuzar, to distinguish it from Sabziwar to the west of Nishapur. [Strange, G. L. : *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 412.]
4. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud*, p. 139; *Matla ul-Wilayat*, p. 98 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 328. The chronogram of his death was found in the letters of the word Shaikh ش =300, ي =10, خ =600=910. Shaikh Mubarak in his chronogram wrote Maza Mahdi م=40, ض=800, ي=10, ا=1, م=40, ه=5, د=4, ي=10=910.

Muhammad, who had accompanied him to Farah, trekked back to India after his death. Of the few who preferred to stay there, one Shaikh Muhammad Farahi chose to declare himself to be Christ. The movement appears to have acquired considerable popularity at Farah and Shah Ismail Safawi and Shah Tahmasp Safawi are said to have failed to destroy the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad on account of the stiff opposition of the people of Farah.[1] Some Mahdawis tried to propagate the mission of Saiyid Muhammad at Ghur, Andkhud, Herat and Qandahar but their efforts did not make much headway.[2] The scramble for power between the Uzbeks and the Safawids had become linked with the religious and ideological differences between the Sunnis and the Shias and nothing but the strict orthodox beliefs of both the sects had any influence in the dominions under them.

TEACHINGS

Saiyid Muhammad did not claim to have founded or propagated any new religion. He only professed that as the Mahdi he was commissioned by the Almighty to restore Islam to its pristine purity. He did not confine himself to the interpretations of any of the four orthodox schools of the Sunnis, but claimed to have followed the religion of

(*Najat ur-Rashid*, Habibganj Aligarh University Manuscript). Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Yusuf and Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Burhan have reproduced several chronograms which yield 910H as the death of Saiyid Muhammad. (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 328-330). *Zafar ul-Waleh* has 910H. (*Zafar ul-Waleh*, p. 36 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, p. 432). Some near contemporary and later authorities have given a number of incorrect dates. *Mirat i-Sikandari* has 917H. (*Mirat i-Sikandari*, p. 138 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, p. 346). Among the modern scholars Blochmann has given 911H. (*Ain i-Akbari*, p. V).

1. Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj Mss., ff. 37a-39b); *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 470.
2. Bandagi Miyan Shah Burhan, a Mahdawi scholar of the seventeenth, century, appears to be satisfied with the attitude of the 'Ulama of Andkhud.' He wrote to one Saiyid Najm ud-Din saying, "Five or six days later I reached Andkhud. There are two paths there. One goes to Mashhad and the other goes to Herat. I stayed there for about eighteen days. I gave satisfactory explanations to their queries regarding the proofs of Mahdi and presented about 100 treatises on the subject which I had with me. "Ulama and other people who were just and liberal followed my arguments and confirmed the mission of Saiyid Muhammad. A large number remained silent and some of them opposed me but could not give satisfactory replies. It should be known that I found the people of this place more liberal and just as far as the confirmation of the claims of the *Imam* was concerned as compared to the people of Hindustan and Khurasan." [Saiyid Mustafa Tashrifullahi : Preface to *Siraj ul-Absar*, (Hyderabad, 1365H), p. 331].

Muhammad and the beliefs and practices as enjoined by the *Quran*. God, His Prophet and His Book were his sole guides.[1] Nor did he accept blindly the interpretations available in any of the existing commentaries of the *Quran* but explained the true sense of the verses in accordance with the divine revelation.[2] He considered himself to be the 'seal of the *Walis*'[3] and so claimed to possess a status similar to that of the 'seal of the Prophets' i.e. Muhammad *vis a vis* the people with whom he had to deal . This, according to the Mahdawis, did not necessarily mean any disrespect to the first four *Khalifas*. He laid great stress on that ascetic aspect of the teachings of Prophet Muhammad which was enthusiastically practised by Abu Zarr al-Ghifari[4], a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, in the reign of the third Caliph Usman (644-656 A.D.).

It was due to his magnetic personality, learning, integrity, resignation, unworldliness and piety that his contemporaries and later scholars, who were reluctant to accept him as the promised Mahdi, ungrudgingly believed him to be the Mahdi in the literal sense of the word, i.e. guide.[5] The claims of the Saiyid were, however, too explicit and

1. Bandagi Miyan Abdur Rashid : *Naqliyat* (Hyderabad Deccan, 1369H), *Rawayat* nos. 7, 9, 10, 11 , 22b, 26 ; Bandagi Miyan Wali : *Insaf Nama* (Hyderabad Deccan, 1368H), pp. 23-26 ; Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni has also confirmed this approach in the discussion between Saiyid Muhammad and the two Ulama of Herat reproduced by him in *Najat ur-Rashid*, (*Supra*, pp. 94-95). The following reply of Shaikh Alai to Mir Saiyid Rafi ud-Din Safawi (*d.* 954/1547. appears to be incorrectly reproduced because it militates against the entire approach of Mahdawis: "And whenever Mir Saiyid Rafi ud-Din was engaged in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdi, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh Alai used to say, 'You are a Shafiite by religion and we are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of ours. How can we accept your explanations and interpretations on this question' ?" [*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 401; English Translation by Ranking, G. S. A., (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 514].
2. *Naqliyat*, *Rawayat* no. 4.
3. *Naqliyat*, *Rawayat* no. 16, *cf.* Shaikh Alai : *Khulasat ul-Kalam* (Hyderabad, 1378H).
4. Abu Zarr al-Ghifari, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, who died in al-Rabaza in the neighbourhood of Medina, whither he had retired in the year 32 or 33/653. It is principally on account of his ascetic tendencies that he became, in the later traditions of the Sufis and Shiites, who relate many stories about him, the model of pious Muslim. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I).
5. According to Badauni someone told him that he had personally heard Saiyid Muhammad saying at his death bed that he was not the promised Mahdi but only the Mahdi in the literal sense. (*Najat ur-Rashid*, f. 38b). Badauni has reiterated the same views at other places also. (*cf. Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.

unequivocal. He would emphatically assert that he was the same Mahdi whose qualities and signs were mentioned in so many of the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. He firmly dubbed all those as non-believers in God and the Prophet Muhammad who did not believe in the mahdihood of Saiyid Muhammad, son of Saiyid Khan.[1] He declared that non-Mahdawis were like *Harabis*[2] and the *jizya* could therefore be levied upon them, but since it was not his mission he did not realize it.[3] It was enjoined upon the Mahdawis not to offer their prayers behind the non-Mahdawis. Consequently they were not allowed to go alone lest they might find it difficult to offer congregational prayers. Mahdawis were neither allowed to attend the preachings of non-Mahdawis nor were they permitted to go to the houses of the non-Mahdawis to acquire knowledge.

"Sufis regard the Unity of God not as something that can be apprehended by the intellect, but as a mystery that is revealed only to those whom God permits to realise it in their religious experience."[4] Saiyid Muhammad did not seek to solve this mystery but advised his followers to constantly yearn for Him. The *ruyat* or vision of God in the present world as well as on the Day of Judgment had always been a subject of great controversy among the Muslim theologians. Saiyid Muhammad claimed to see the Almighty with the eyes of flesh and supported this claim with a number of verses from the *Quran*.[5] When his opponents would point out to him that the vision referred to in the verses related to the vision of God on the Day of Judgment, forth

III, p.46). His other opponents of the sixteenth century who held him in great respect, have expressed the same view about his claim. (Shaikh Ali Muttaqi : *Risala Dar Jawab Abdul Malik*, ff. 9b-12a.)

1. *Naqliyat*, *Rawayat* nos. 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 50-55, 91, 94, 112 ; *Insaf Nama*, pp. 33-43 ; *cf.* Bandagi Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi : *Khasais Imam Mahdi Mauud* (Hyderabad, 1368H); Khwandamir : *Aqida i-Sharifa*, (Hyderabad, 1378H); Shaikh Alai : *Hujjat ul-Matin* (Hyderabad, 1375H).
2. Enemies of the Muslims.
3. *Naqliyat*, *Rawayat* nos. 54, 55, 42-49 ; *Insaf Nama*, pp. 44-55.
4. Nicholson : *The Idea of Personality in Sufism* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 13.
5. 'And whoever is blind in this, he shall (also) be blind in the hereafter, and more erring from the way." (*Quran* XV, 72) "Say : I am only a mortal like you ; it is revealed to me that your god is One God, therefore whoever hopes to meet his Lord, he should do good deeds, and not join anyone in the service of his Lord." (*Quran* XVI, 110).
"Now surely they are in doubt as to the meeting of their Lord ; now surely He encompasses all things." (*Quran* XXV, 54). "(Some) faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord." (*Quran* XXIX, 22, 23).

would he come with the retort that the reference was unequivocal and the Sunni Alims did not consider the vision of God in this world an impossibility. According to him, "The true believer is only one who is able to see the Almighty either with the eyes of the head or the heart or in dreams. If neither of these three is possible, the true believer should at least employ himself in the quest for Him". Regarding himself, he asserted to have seen the Almighty not only with his eyes but with every hair of his body—an assertion incredulous and exaggerated.[1]

He insisted every one should love the Almighty and seek His love through ardent devotion to Him. It was his emphatic contention that God bestowed His love on His prophets of His own accord but to ordinary human beings His love came when they sincerely devoted themselves to its attainment.[2]

Zikr i-Dawam or *Zikr i-Kasir* was one of the foremost duties enjoined by Saiyid Muhammad upon his followers. It did not mean only a formal repetition of the name of God but implied the performance of the lawful prayers in a state of utter absorption in God; also *Zikr i-Kasir* lasted from dawn to the one and a half watch (*pahar*) of the day and from *Zuhr* to *Isha* prayers. He desired the recitation of *La Ilaha Illillah* to have a purging effect on the hearts of the believers. Just as a spark sets ablaze the whole room containing cotton and reduces it to ashes, so should the sparks of *La Ilaha Illillah* purge from the heart of the believer the love of everything else except that of God. During the *Zikr* hours the Mahdawis were not permitted even to cook food. His stress on *Zikr* amounted to his prohibiting the beginners from acquiring knowledge lest they might become negligent of the *Quran*. People were not even permitted to discuss matters relating to religion during *Zikr* hours. If one was oblivious of God while eating, drinking or doing any other work, he was regarded to have indulged in an unlawful act. The Ulama enquired of him if he had forbidden the acquisition of knowledge. He replied, "I believe in blind obedience to the injunctions of Prophet Muhammad. Whatever is not forbidden by the Prophet cannot be forbidden by me. I have only made *Zikr i-Dawam* obligatory in accordance with the behests of the Almighty and Prophet Muhammad." Anything likely to interfere with *Zikr* was prohibited, be it the acquisition of knowledge, earning a livelihood, mixing with people, eating, or

1. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 19, 67, 69, 99, 188, 192, 196, 219, 223, 227, 228, 229, 230, 289, and 290 ; *Insaf Nama*, pp. 304-333.
2. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 189, 190, 218.

sleeping. Anything which made people forgetful or heedless of the Almighty was forbidden.[1]

Saiyid Muhammad expounded the principle that only the light of faith was sufficient for the understanding of the *Quran*.[2] He desired the people to acquire only that much knowledge as was necessary for the comprehension of the formalities of prayers and fastings.[3] He was of the opinion that only the *Ummis*[4] could receive divine inspiration. He claimed that whatever he had himself learnt was effected by the Almighty when he was granted the knowledge of His nearness.[5] He, however, permitted the study of the *Anis ul-Ghurba*[6] by Shaikh Nur and *Marghub ul-Qulub*[7] by Shaikh Shams ud-Din to the beginner and *Zad ul-Musafirin*[8] and *Nazhat ul-Arwah*[9] of Sadat Husaini to those having advanced knowledge. *Gulistan* and *Bustan*[10] were also recommended by him, for these dealt with Divine Love.[11] He had the peculiar notion that excessive pursuit of studies led the people to over-indulgence in material affairs thus bringing ruin on their head. He believed that the faith of the people in him was bound to be shaken if they were allowed

1. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 191,194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 201-207, 210-212, 216-217 ; *Insaf Nama*, pp. 253-303.
2. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* no. 165.
3. *Ibid., Rawayat* no. 164.
4. The illiterate. "The application of the term to Muhammad was often quoted as evidence that he could not read or write. In reality the expression has no bearing on the question. For the text of *Sura* ii.73 which gives rise to this assumption does not charge the *Ummiyun* with ignorance of reading and writing, but with a deficient knowledge of the holy scriptures." (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol IV.) However the later impostors preferred to call themselves *Ummi*. Abul Fazl has also applied this appellation to Akbar with pride.
5. *Ibid., Rawayat* no. 170 ; *Insaf Nama*, p. 246.
6. No reference to this work is traceable in the catalogues available to me.
7. A *Masnawi* on the elements of asceticism and mysticism composed in 757/1356 and ascribed to Shams ud-Din Tabrizi, the spiritual guide of Jalal ud-Din Rumi; but as Shams ud-Din died in 645/1247-48, 112 lunar years before the composition of this poem, the statement is incredible. (Ethe 1840, 1841).
8. A Sufic *Masnawi* by Mir Fakhr al-Sadat Husaini. It was composed by him in 720/1320-21 in imitation of *Hadiqa* of Hakim Sanai. (Ethe 1832-1834).
9. It is a Sufic work in prose and verse on the *Suluk* or spiritual path, completed in 711/1311-12 by Mir Fakhr al-Sadat Husaini. (Ethe 1821-1828).
10. The famous works of Musharrif ud-Din b. Muslih ud-Din Sadi Shirazi who died at the advanced age of 110 lunar years in 690/1291. *Gulistan* and *Bustan* have been translated in many languages and have occupied a principal place in the curriculum of oriental learning since the time they were written.
11. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 166-169 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 254.

to acquire knowledge. Miyan Nimat was explicitly informed that had he studied something earlier, he would not have accepted him as the Mahdi.[1] He exhorted the people to act only according to his behest to obtain real insight.[2]

The people were advised by him to imbibe righteousness rather than to emphasize his importance as the Mahdi. He discouraged those who desired him to part with his shoes or dress or any other thing as a blessing by saying that in the absence of righteous conduct the solicitors would not be blessed even if they were to put on his very skin. He declared that only righteousness would stand to the credit of a man and not his parentage on the Day of Judgment.[3] He used to go round the cells of his followers to check their daily routine. He would feel elated if they were found engrossed in devotion to God ; should he find them otherwise engaged, he would reproach them for their lapses.[4]

A mosque in some remote corner of the city of his visit would generally be the Saiyid's place of stay. The place where the Mahdawis settled down was called a *daira*.[5] At the places where a prolonged stay was intended, the premises of the *daira* would be enlarged enough so as to include within it small huts with low mud walls and thatched roofs, built with a view to providing living accommodation to the inmates, specially the ladies of the *daira*.[6] A *Jamaat Khana* meant for common assemblies and for lodging the guests was the essential part of every *daira*.[7] Only such laws which were alleged to be the essence of the *Shariat* were followed there. A strict routine was prescribed for the inmates of the *daira* and the rules governing this routine were inviolable. Movement outside the premises of the *daira* to see friends or relations was not permissible. To cite an instance, Malik Maruf, far from being allowed to see his mother, was advised to communicate to her to think him as being no more in this world. Any communion with the worldly people was unthinkable. Those who violated this rule were not permitted to stay in the *daira*. It was not at all possible for the newcomers to the *daira* to marry the daughters of the older mem-

1. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* no. 158 ; *Insaf Nama*, p. 242.
2. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* no.173.
3. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 133-134 ; *Insaf Nama*, pp. 219-220, 349.
4. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 191-192.
5. *Daira* literally means a circle, a camp, a tambourine or a monastery.
6. Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Ruhullah : *Panj Fazail* (Hyderabad, 1373H), pp. 49, 90.
7. *Panj Fazail*, p. 110.

a grape out of the mouth of his child which was put into it by one of his companions before a formal distribution was made. To ensure equity, Saiyid Muhammad would himself supervise the distribution of the day's income. The distributor was not to look at the face of the recipient lest he be swayed by some ulterior consideration. This rule knew no relaxation. Saiyid Mahmud did not agree to any extra share, even for his wife, despite the entreaties of his companions that she merited it as she had to look after all his guests. Instances can be multiplied from the Mahdawi sources about the scrupulous impartiality and honesty exercised at the time of the distribution of the shares.[1]

Saiyid Muhammad declared that his duty was only to preach.[2] He would never tire of discussions even though people argued with him unnecessarily.[3] Nor did he compel anyone to leave his unlawful habits ; but depended on the Almighty who alone could lead one to the right path.[4] Only such persons as lent a willing ear to his discourses on the *Quran* were entitled to a proper consideration and a privileged position near him in his assemblies.[5] People rolling in wealth were not shown any special consideration. His message was addressed to the believers alone. He neither preached hatred against non-Muslims nor did he expect them to abjure their faith.

The Mahdawis lived with utmost simplicity.[6] They would pay no heed to the observance of court manners and customs, and generally greeted the people with "*Salam alikum*".[7] Mutual co-operation and a corporate life were enjoined upon the Mahdawis. The possessor of an extra pair of clothes had to part with it to satisfy the need of the deserving one.[8]

All the members of the *daira* were not regarded by Saiyid Muhammad as equally righteous. He would say that there were all the three types of people in his *daira* ;—believers, hypocrites and *kafirs*. The latter two, he credulously asserted , were not destined to die in the *daira* ; they would generally leave it before their death.[9] After each week, the Mahdawis of the *daira* would assemble and individually

1. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 137-144.
2. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* no. 26.
3. *Ibid., Rawayat* no. 40.
4. *Ibid., Rawayat* no. 288.
5. *Ibid., Rawayat* nos. 83-84.
6. *Ibid., Rawayat* nos. 78-81, 85, 145-146, 263.
7. 'Peace be with you.'
8. *Naqliyat, Rawayat* nos. 241-243.
9. *Ibid., Rawayat* no. 132.

and severally make an open confession of the sins they had committed during the week. Anyone guilty of some serious offence would offer himself before the leader of the *daira* voluntarily to receive punishment in accordance with the laws of the *Shariat*.[1]

The Mahdawis did not dabble in politics. Saiyid Muhammad gave a new interpretation to the sovereignty of the Mahdi. Malik Gauhar, a noble of the kings of Gujarat, and an eminent *Khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad, once said to him, 'The Ulama assert that the Mahdi will be the Lord of the age. If you are pleased to declare yourself to be the emperor, I will support you with twelve thousand well-equipped soldiers." The Mahdi reproached him for his impious wishes and told him, "The Mahdi is undoubtedly the potentate but his sway is not dependent upon the assistance offered by armed forces. He is the true master like the prophets and apostles. His sovereignty has no resemblance to the dominions of *kafirs* like Pharoah and Nimrod."[2] But the Ulama continued to exploit the rulers to their own advantage on account of the prophecies made in the traditions, regarding the political dominance of the Mahdi,[3] and it was on this score that they were able to gain success.

1. *Ibid.*, *Rawayat* no. 244.
2. *cf.* Important Mahdawi sources e.g. *Sirat Imam Mahdi Mauud* ; *Matla ul-Wilayat*; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat* ; Bandagi Miyan Abdur Rashid : *Naqliyat* (Hyderabad, 1369H); Bandagi Miyan Wali : *Insaf Nama* (Hyderabad, 1368H); *Hashiya i-Insaf Nama*, (Hyderabad, 1369H) ; Abdul Malik Sujawandi : *Khasais i-Imam Mahdi* (Hyderabad, 1368H) ; *Siraj ul-Absar* (Hyderabad, 1365H), ; *Minhaj ut-Taqim* (Hyderabad, 1375H); Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Khwandamir: *Aqida i-Sharifa* (1378H); Bandagi Miyan Wali : *Hujjat ul-Munsifin* (Hyderabad, 1375H); Miyan Mansur Khan Burhanpuri : *Jannat ul-Wilayat* (Hyderabad, 1376H) ; Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Qasim: *Mahyat ut-Taqlid* (Hyderabad, 1377H) ; Abdul Malik Sujawandi: *Siraj-ul-Absar* ; Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Ruhullah: *Panj Fazail* (Hyderabad, 1372H); Qazi Muntakhab ud-Din : *Makhzan ud-Dalail* (Hyderabad, 1373H); Bandagi Miyan Shaikh Mustafa Gujarati : *Makatib* (Hyderabad, 1377H). A modern source "*Some Account of Mahummud Mehdi, The Wali or Saint of the Mehdivis* (Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay), Vol. II, London 1820, Reprinted at the Bombay Education Society's Press—1876, pp. 297-311.
3. It was against this background that Isa Khan Hujjab, an eminent noble of Islam Shah, focussing his attention on the untidy and rugged clothes and worn-out shoes of Shaikh Alai, remarked, "This fellow in this condition and with this miserable appearance wishes to take away the kingdom from us. Does he imagine that we Afghans are all corpses?" [Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 400 ; English Translation by Ranking, Vol. I (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 513.]

CHAPTER THREE

MAHDAWI DAIRAS

Gujrat

The death of Saiyid Muhammad did not dampen the spirit of his followers. "The Mahdi appeared and departed and no Mahdi is henceforth to come", became their slogan. They only had to wait for the Day of Judgment when they were to submit the account of their deeds to the Almighty which they thought was very near. The religious atmosphere, too, proved favourable to the Mahdawis. A belief had overtaken other Muslims too, that the creation was likely to come to an end one thousand years after the death of the Prophet. The atmosphere of the impending doom spurred the morbid feelings of credulous believers who, impressed with the resignation, poverty and utter disregard of the mundane by the Mahdawis, continued to swell their ranks. The successors of Saiyid Muhammad vied with each other in scrupulously guarding the traditions set by their Master, and in the process their movement gained popularity. The persecution perpetrated on the Mahdawis by the court Ulama, far from suppressing the movement, served only as fuel to the fire. The movement spread throughout India and remained a strong force for more than a century.

Gujarat became an important centre of the Mahdawi movement where most of the eminent successors of Saiyid Muhammad returned from Farah and concentrated their efforts on popularising the movement. Saiyid Muhammad is said to have spoken highly of the importance of Gujarat which is evident from his calling it "the stone in a ring."[1] Saiyid Mahmud, Saiyid Khwandamir, Bandagi Miyan Shah Nimat, Bandagi Miyan Shah Nizam and Bandagi Miyan Shah Dilawar, who occupied the same place amongst the Mahdawis *vis a vis* their founder as was occupied by Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali *vis a vis* Prophet Muhammad, concentrated their activities in Gujarat and gave unprecedented impetus to the mission of Saiyid Muhammad.[2]

1. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat* , p. 464. According to Saiyid Ruhullah, Saiyid Muhammad was twenty-two years old at the time of Saiyid Mahmud's birth. (*Panj Fazail*, Hyderabad, 1372H.)
2. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 126.

Saiyid Mahmud, son of Saiyid Muhammad, was born in 867/1462-63. It is said that he and his mother were the first to secretly acknowledge Saiyid Muhammad as the Mahdi when the latter had reached the 40th year of his age.[1] This secret acceptance is obviously meant to draw a parallel between Saiyid Muhammad and the Prophet, who received his call to prophetic office at the age of forty and whose wife Khadija accepted him as the Prophet. Saiyid Mahmud accompanied his father throughout his itinerancy except in his journey from Gujarat to Farah, during which he stayed back in Gujarat for a short time. On reaching Farah he was accorded a warm welcome by his father.[2] After his father's death he stayed at Farah for about nine months and later on retired to Bhilwat in Radhanpur, Gujarat, where he began to preach the tenets of the Mahdawis. He would hold weekly meetings and request his followers to caution him against anything un-Mahdi in him.[3] Further, he did not even insist that the eminent followers of Saiyid Muhammad should stay with him, rather, he dispersed them to different places, a measure which proved conducive to the establishment of *dairas* throughout Gujarat and Malwa.[4] Those who did not believe in Saiyid Muhammad were unhesitatingly branded by Saiyid Mahmud as *kafirs* and he did not spare any noble, king or Alim,[5] from this accusation. His impetuous condemnation of the orthodox sections brought him imprisonment in 918H but he was released after forty days. He died on 4 Ramzan, 918/13 Nov., 1215,[6] two and a half months after his return to the *daira*, and was buried at Bhilwat. He was known as *Sani i-Mahdi* or equal to the Mahdi.

Saiyid Khwandamir, the brother-in-law of Saiyid Mahmud, was also descended from Imam Musa al-Kazim[7] and was born in 886/

1. *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, f. 95a.
2. Saiyid Muhammad is said to have remarked.

   آري اگرچه پوت پوت شده آيد چراخوشحالي نباشد

   Shawahid ul-Wilayat has reproduced the following lines :

   جس کا پوت پوت ھو کر آوے   اُسے کا ھے خوشی نہ ھووے

   (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 270).
3. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, p. 472.
4. *Panj Fazail*, p. 22.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.
6. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 121-122 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 472-478 ; *Panj Fazail*, pp. 38-43 ; Miyan Saiyid Husain Alam : *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 65b-76b.
7. Saiyid Khwandamir, son of Saiyid Musa, son of Saiyid Khwandamir, son of Saiyid Jalal, son of Saiyid Khwanda Said, son of Saiyid Abdullah, son of Saiyid Abdul Qadir, son of Saiyid Isa, son of Saiyid Ahmad, son of Saiyid Haidar, son of Saiyid Najm ud-Din, son of Saiyid Naimat Ullah, son of Saiyid Ismail, son of Imam Musa Kazim. (*Panj Fazail*, p. 76).

1481-82. His father, Saiyid Musa, alias Saiyid Chhajju, had 500 soldiers under his command while his maternal uncle, Malik Nasir ud-Din Mubariz ul-Mulk, also held an important position under the Sultans of Gujarat. On account of their influence they wished Saiyid Khwandamir to take up some office but he was more inclined towards a saintly life. He sought out many orthodox Sufis but they could not Satisfy him. He happened to meet Saiyid Muhammad at Patan and was enrolled amongst his disciples there. The Saiyid became highly enamoured of the qualities and intellectual attainments of Khwandamir, married his daughter to him and used to address him as "Brother Khwandamir". Mahdawi sources recount a large number of traditions from Saiyid Muhammad eulogizing Khwandamir. His entry into the fold of the Mahdawis exasperated his maternal uncle Mubariz ul-Mulk, forcing the latter to confine him in his mansion; but this step proved no deterrent to him and Khwandamir rejoined Saiyid Muhammad at Nagor or Jalor.[1] Saiyid Muhammad later on permitted him to stay back at Gujarat though he himself moved towards Farah ; but Gujarat could not detain Khwandamir for long and he joined Saiyid Muhammad at Farah. After Saiyid Muhammad's death Khwandamir also returned to Gujarat at the instance of Saiyid Mahmud and stayed at Bhelwal where he started preaching the doctrines of his spiritual guide. After Saiyid Mahmud's return to Gujarat he shifted to the village, Bhulara. The Ulama were utterly incapable of convincing him or putting a stop to his missionary activities. Rather, their efforts brought the reverse of what they intended : the ranks of his followers began to swell rapidly and more and more people started embracing Mahdiism. His persistence in his zeal for the new religion brought on him the wrath of Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarat (917/1511—932/1526), at the instigation of the orthodox *Mullas*, who could not see eye to eye with Khwandamir and wrote *fatwas* for his execution and banishment. "Unlimited spiritual benefits will accrue to the persecutors of the Mahdawis", so preached the *Mullas*. Hunted from place to place, Saiyid Khwandamir had to shift his *daira* about twenty-seven times. Faced with all sorts of difficulties and tortures, the Mahdawis were left with no option but to have recourse to violence. Saiyid Muhammad had also predicted that Saiyid Khwandamir would meet his end on the battle field.[2] Realizing the gravity of the situation, Sultan Muzaffar deputed a large army to subdue the Mahdawis, who were ultimately overpowered.

1. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 122-140, 273-309.

2. He is said to have recited the following *kabit* (verses) before taking up arms:

Khwandamir himself fell fighting in the battle at Khambel in Patan on 14 Shawwal, 930/15 August, 1524.

Saiyid Khwandamir wrote a number of treatises to popularise the teachings of Saiyid Muhammad. *Aqida i-Sharifa*, *Maqsad i-Awwal* or *Risala i-Kalan*, *Maqsad i-Sani*, *Maktub i-Multani*, *Risala i-Baz ul-Ayat* and *Risala i-Khatm ul-Wilayat* sum up some of the important features of the teachings of Saiyid Muhammad. *Risala i-Kalan* or *Umm ur-Risala* is said to have become unusually popular, even with the non-Mahdawis, and Humayun Padshah and Sultan Qutb Shah are said to have got illuminated copies of it prepared. The increasing zeal and enthusiasm of Mahdawis, even in the face of persecution at the hands of their opponents, contributed much towards popularising them. A number of works in prose and poetry in Persian and local dialects were written within two centuries which disseminated the teachings of Saiyid Muhammad, relating at the same time the story of the sacrifices of Khwandamir, which curiously enough are not described in non-Mahdawi sources. Some of the known works containing an account of the death of Khwandamir are as follow :

A. *Risala i-Chand Sharif* by Miyan Ali Muhammad written in verse in Brij Bhasha between 930/1523-24 and 944/1537-38.

B. A Persian *Masnawi* written by Miyan Malik Jamal in 1090/1679-80.

कवित्त

बचन झलियों बली राज बचन कुल कौरव खोयो
बचन झलियो करुणादित्य बचन पौंडव बन सपियो
बचन झलियो हरी चन्द निच घर नीर सहोयो
बचन झलियो, श्री राम राज विभीषण थपियो
बचन कही को विचन कहें करे जिभिया कपिये
जी सिर जाये तो जाये बाल्यो बचन न पलटिये ।

"Raja Bali honoured his word and the Kaurava destroyed their royal family just to keep their promise. Raja Karunaditya remained true to his word while the Pandavas forsook their kingdom for the sake of their promise and preferred to live in the woods. Raja Hari Chand served as a water bearer at the house of a sweeper only to keep the sanctity of his word. Sri Ram fulfilled his promise and handed over the kingdom of Ravana to Vibhishan. If a man fails to honour his word, he must cut off his tongue".

[1]. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 123-144; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 484-500 ; *Panj Fazail*, pp. 45-84 ; *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 2a-38b.

C. *Prem Sangram* in verse in Brij Bhasha, written by Malik Yusuf, a noble under the last Sultan of the Qutb-Shahi dynasty, Abul Hasan Tana Shah (1672-1687).

D. *Tej Nama* in Hindi verse by Miyan Saiyid Hasan, a *Khalifa* of Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Raju, in 1068/1657-58. It details the circumstances leading to the murder of Saiyid Raju Shahid.

E. *Asrar i-Ishq* by Miyan Abdul Mumin written in 1093/1682 in Deccani.

F. *Ganj i-Shuhada* by Saiyid Ibrahim alias Baba Miyan Sahib Hyderabadi in Deccani Urdu.

G. A voluminous *masnawi* in Urdu comprising about 9,000 verses by Miyan Saiyid Najm ud-Din Shahid.

A number of the biographies of Khwandamir were also written in Persian prose, the most popular being *Hadiqat ul-Haqaiq* in two volumes by Miyan Saiyid Burhan ud-Din.

Bandagi Miyan Shah Nimat was also an eminent disciple of Saiyid Muhammad and belonged to the Banyani tribe of Gujarat. His father, Shaikh Bare or Malik Bare, was an important courtier of Sultan Mahmud. He succeeded his father when quite young but could not manage his office and got even eminent people of Gujarat slain. On account of the fear of punishment, he left his office only to take to robbing around Ahmadabad with about twenty-five to thirty men. Sultan Mahmud deputed an army of about 500 horsemen to arrest him and settle accounts with him for the murder of the son of the royal Abyssinian slave, Abdullah. At Santej he embraced Mahdiism subsequent to hearing a discourse of Saiyid Muhammad. On the advice of the Saiyid he surrendered himself to Abdullah, desiring the latter to avenge his son's murder. This voluntary submission reflecting a change of heart of the culprit impressed Abdullah beyond expectation and he gave up his claims. Likewise, he sought and got pardon from all those who had been wronged by him at some stage.[1] He accompanied Saiyid Muhammad to Farah but returned to Gujarat after the latter's death.

He was most outspoken and scrupulously devoted to the teachings of Saiyid Muhammad, who called him "the pair of scissors of *Bidat*."[2]

1. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 118-123 ; *Pani Fazail*, pp. 81-85.
2. Innovations in matters of religion.

He did not accept any *futuh* unless he found himself in the grip of acute distress. After establishing *dairas* at Patan, Jalor and Ahmedabad he shifted to Ahmad Nagar where he could catch his breath due to the influence of Burhan Nizam Shah (914/1508—961/1554), who remained inclined towards Mahdawi beliefs till 928/1521 . He was done to death at the age of 61 by Kafshdar Khan, the eunuch commander of Lohgarh fort in a village near the fort.[1]

Bandagi Miyan Nizam, another noted disciple of Saiyid Muhammad, belonged to a well-to-do family of Jais and was born there in 873/1468-69. He is said to have been descended from Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar. While still young he left his birth place and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. He went round Syria and Iraq also. On returning to India after some time he embraced the Mahdawi religion at Champanir,[2] and travelled to Farah with Saiyid Muhammad. After his return to Gujarat he established his *daira* at Radhanpur. Amongst his sons Abdur Rahman, the author of *Sirat* who was born at Farah, rose to a very high eminence. He died in 940/1533-34.

Bandagi Miyan Shah Dilawar was said to be the son of Raja Dalpat of Gaur. After the death of Saiyid Mahmud he established his *daira* at Ahmadabad in 919/1513-14 Bandagi Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi accepted the Mahdawi faith on account of his influence. Later on he shifted to Bur Kher in Khandesh and died there in 944/1537-38. The strength of the *daira* of Shah Dilawar stood at about 1400 and was divided into two parts. Half of the members associated themselves with Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi while the other half with Miyan Abdul Karim Nuri.[3]

Some other disciples of Saiyid Muhammad also deserve special mention on account of their eminence and persistent efforts for the propagation of Mahdawi tenets. Bandagi Malik Burhan ud-Din was an eminent scholar of Ahmadabad who held a considerably high rank under Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat. Saiyid Muhammad's discourse on the *Quran* possessed his mind so completely that he got himself listed amongst his disciples. Later on he became Saiyid Muhammad's son in-law and died in 915/1509-10; he lies buried near Ahmadabad.[4]

1. *Panj Fazail*, pp. 86-118 ; *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 88b-93b.
2. *Panj Fazail*, pp. 119-164.
3. *Panj Fazail*, pp. 164-204 ; *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 94a-97a.
4. *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 87b-88a.

Bandagi Miyan Malik Gauhar is said to have been the *Wazir* of the Sultans of Bengal or Gujarat. Later on he was admitted to the court of Sultan Mahmud with whom he found favour to such an extent that in no time he became an eminent noble ; but he was attracted towards the teachings of Saiyid Muhammad and subsequently renounced the world. After the death of Saiyid Muhammad, he established his *daira* in Sindh and died at Thatta in Zilhijja 914/March-April 1509.

Bandagi Miyan Malik is said to have been the Governor of Nagor. On Saiyid Muhammad's arrival at Nagor he went to him with a body of Ulama to discuss Mahdiism with him. The discussion that followed left the Malik charmed by the Saiyid. Consequently, he renounced the world and joined the party of Saiyid Muhammad along with his family. After the death of Saiyid Muhammad he shifted to Nagor where he established his *daira*. He died eleven or twelve years after the death of Saiyid Mahmud.[1]

Bandagi Shah Abdul Majid Nuri was a descendant of Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti. He was held in great esteem at Delhi. He was initiated into the Mahdawi faith when Saiyid Muhammad migrated from Ahmadabad. After the death of Saiyid Muhammad he established his *daira* in Nainpura near Ahmadabad but was done to death[2] in 918/1512-13 or 919/1513-14.

Bandagi Malik Maruf was a cousin of Miyan Saiyid Khwandamir and held a high rank under the Sultans of Gujarat. He, with his brother, Malik Burhan ud-Din joined the fold of Saiyid Muhammad. The latter, however, died after six months. Malik Maruf severed entirely all his connections with his relations and unhesitatingly refused to comply with the earnest desire of his mother to see him. After his return from Farah he first established his *daira* at Patan but later on shifted to Jalor.[4]

Bandagi Miyan Yusuf was an eminent noble and Alim of Ahmadabad. He was enrolled amongst the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad at Ahmadabad and willingly underwent untold hardships with the utmost resignation during Saiyid Muhammad's journey to Khurasan.

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 85b-87a; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 103-106.
2. *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, ff. 93a-94a.
3. *Ibid.*, ff. 98a-99a.
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 97a-99a.

His mortal remains were entombed at Chandaula tank near Ahmadabad where he had established his *daira* after his return from Khurasan.[1]

Bandagi Shah Amin Muhammad was a brother of Shah Abdul Majid Nuri. Both became the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad in Gujarat. He dedicated his life to preaching the Mahdawi faith at different places. He gave up the ghost at Daulatabad[2] in 935/1528-29.

Bandagi Malik Alahdad, son of Bandagi Malik Ahmad Bariwal, was from amongst the nobles of Gujarat. The arrival of Saiyid Muhammad in Gujarat was followed by a change in Alahdad's religious views, whereupon he joined the fold of the Mahdawis along with his two brothers, Malik Najjan and Malik Hammad. He espoused the cause of the Mahdawis with great zeal and was wounded in the battle between Khwandamir and his enemies. He, however, did not succumb to his injuries and continued to look after the family of Khwandamir throughout his life[3].

The aforesaid immediate disciples of Saiyid Muhammad and some others were fortunate in getting, in Gujarat and at other places also, such a band of enthusiastic and selflessly devoted followers as were ever busy in kindling the light of their master's mission and were adept in the art of exploiting the popular sentiments of the Muslims—a circumstance which went a long way in popularising the movement. Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi and Miyan Mustafa Gujarati were amongst men of profound learning and scholarship who surpassed the non-Mahdawi Ulama in producing extremely learned polemical literature in Persian and Arabic. The use of local dialects, *dohas* and *kabits* accounted for bringing the movement nearer to the Muslim populace.

Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi, known as Alam Billah, was the son of Shah Abdul Majid Sujawandi and resided in village Budhasan in Kari of Gujarat. He became a disciple of Shah Dilawar, a successor of Saiyid Muhammad in 919/1513-14. How paradoxical it was that Abdul Malik had attained to great heights of learning before joining the Mahdawi fold, while his spiritual guide, Shah Dilawar, was hardly literate and could not correctly pronounce even simple Arabic words.[4] After the death of his preceptor in 944/1537-38, Miyan Abdul Malik established his *daira* on the bank of Sabarmati near

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 87b-88a.
2. *Ibid*, ff. 108a-108b.
3. *Matla ul-Wilayat*, pp. 143-146 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 501-508.
4. *Tarikh i-Sulaimani* ; Gulshan IX, Chaman 3 ; *Tazkirat us-Salihin*, f. 46b.

Ahmadabad. Though after sometime he retired to the village of Budhasan, he continued to pay frequent visits to Ahmadabad and take part in the discussions with the local Ulama. Arabic was his usual medium of writing and he compiled a number of treatises. In a work *Fazilat al-Mahdi Ala al-Shaikhain*, he has proved the superiority of Imam Mahdi over the first three successors of Prophet Muhammad. *Minhaj ut-Taqwim*, written by him after about 950/1543-44, explains eleven queries of Shaikh Mubarak Nagori in connection with the Mahdawi beliefs. Of all his works the most important is *Siraj ul-Absar* which he wrote in refutation of Shaikh Ali al-Muttaqi's *al-Rad* after 960/1552-53. It is regarded by the Mahdawis as a monumental contribution to Mahdawi literature. It had aroused the curiosity of all the Mahdawi contemporaries of the author. Miyan Shaikh Mustafa Gujarati, a scholar of considerable eminence, wrote a letter to the author expressing his keen desire to go through the work.[1] A number of commentaries and translations of the work were subsequently prepared in different centuries and the manuscripts of the work are available in a large number of the libraries of the Mahdawis. He died on 24 Shawwal, 981/16 February, 1574 at Budhasan.[2]

Bandagi Miyan Shaikh Abdur Rashid, the author of *Naqliyat* and his son, Miyan Mustafa Gujarati, gave a remarkable lead to the Mahdawis of Gujarat. Shaikh Abd ur-Rashid was descended from the Bohras of Gujarat who generally indulged in trade and belonged to Patan. It is said that Shaikh Abdur Rashid came in contact with Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri while quite young but his *Naqliyat* shows a number of traditions about Saiyid Muhammad recorded by him based on his personal knowledge.[3] He benefited greatly from the instructions of Bandagi Miyan Khwandamir and he and his son, Miyan Mustafa, led a retired life. But they remained an eyesore to the Ulama due to their Mahdawi faith. The Ulama hatched plots to harm them; but they failed in their attempts due to the active support extended to the two by a local *Amir* Alim Khan, who was a powerful administrator. Some other eminent people and scholars of Gujarat, including Mir Abu Turab Wali, had a soft corner in their heart for the Mahdawis.[4] The

1. Bandagi Miyan Shaikh Mustafa Gujarati : *Makatib* (Hyderabad, 1377 H).
2. *Tarikh i-Sulaimani*, Gulshan IX, Chaman 3.
3. *Tarikh i-Sulaimani*, Vol. III, Chaman 4, Gulshan 9; *Naqliyat* of Bandagi Miyan Abdur Rashid, Preface, pp. 9-14.
4. *Makatib*, Letter no. 83.

defeated Ulama then sought to turn Akbar's invasion of Gujarat of 1572-73 to their advantage. Consequently a rumour was set afloat by them that the Mughul army was marching to spell ruin for the Mahdawis. Miyan Mustafa was not in the least disturbed by such rumours ; he rather desired his well-wishers to let him live a retired life. He gave it out as his firm resolve to quit the place if called upon to do so by the invading army or the rulers of Gujarat.[1] Akbar reached Patan on Saturday 1 Rajab, 980/7 November, 1572 and stayed there for a week; he paid special attention towards the affairs of the Mahdawis.[2] Miyan Mustafa visited the imperial camp twice and probably discussed his religious beliefs there. He was again summoned to the imperial camp after its departure from Patan and was kept in suspense for a long time. It inevitably caused much hardship and inconvenience to Miyan Mustafa to have to move with the army. Attaching no importance to the baseless rumours regarding the persecution to which they were likely to be subjected, he argued in one of his letters, "It is my conviction that the army had no intention to bring about our physical extinction. Had they harboured any such motive, there was nothing to restrain them from doing so. Things were rather favourable to the materialization of their alleged design. We were all staying with our families near the city and were not at all afraid of what was in store for us. We had completely resigned ourselves to our fate and yearned for death. But the invading army did nothing against us. On the contrary, despite my voluntary surrender and earnest entreaties to earn the reward by putting me to death without any delay, in case they were convinced of my having gone astray from the path of righteousness, they did not resort to that step. I argued that if I had not deviated from the right path but had been a true follower of Muhammad's religion, I would beseech for retribution on the Day of Judgment. I related to them some verses from the *Quran*, some traditions and some couplets on the above subject. I had been

1. *Makatib*, Letter no. 85.

2. Mir Ala ud-Daula Qazwini, one of the earliest known contemporary authorities for the history of the reign of Akbar, who was a protege of Mirza Aziz Koka, says, "Akbar stayed for a week (at Patan) for the amelioration of the condition of the meek and the down-trodden and the eminent Ulama and for popularising the *Shariat* of Islam, which was in a terrible mess on account of the *Mulahida i-Mahdawiya* (heretic Mahdawis)." (*Nafais ul-Maasir*, Copy from Aligarh University Manuscript, p. 102). Arif Qandahari and Abul Fazl do not make any mention of the Mahdawis. [Arif Qandahari : *Tarikh i-Qandahari* (Rampur, 1962), p. 159 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 6.]

thinking as to what should be done after that. Much of my time has been wasted in going to the Emperor."[1]

Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir Patni[2], a disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, who, like his teacher, was a great opponent of the Mahdawis, prevailed upon Akbar to annihilate them ;[3] but it appears that Akbar, despite his alleged promises, did not take any action against the Mahdawis. However, under the governorship of Mirza Aziz Koka the Mahdawi power was crushed in Gujarat. His lieutenant, *Amir* Amin Sanjar, invited Shaikh Abdur Rashid to a feast and afterwards treacherously killed him alongwith a party of the Mahdawis in 980/1573, and Miyan Mustafa was sent to Mirza Aziz Koka,[4] who imprisoned him.[5] The fact that a number of wise men planned to make a deputation to Akbar to seek the release of Miyan Mustafa bears ample testimony to his popularity[6] in unorthodox, non-Mahdawi circles. Akbar summoned Miyan Mustafa after his return from the second expedition from Bengal and Asaf Khan II, the *Mir Bakhshi*, brought Miyan Mustafa from Gujarat to Ajmer, in Shawwal 981/February 1574 where the Emperor was staying. He, calling the Ulama together one night in the courtyard of *Diwan Khana*, put questions to Shaikh Mustafa regarding the Mahdawi religion. Forth came the replies

1. *Makatib*, Letter no. 85.
2. *Infra*, pp. 237-238.
3. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami: *Maasir ul-Kiram* (Agra), Vol. I, p. 195.
4. Haji ud-Dabir: *Zafar ul-Waleh* (An Arabic History of Gujarat), Vol. I, pp. 35-36; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II, pp. 430-431.
5. Miyan Mustafa : *Makatib*, Letter no 141, vide poem composed by him containing verses from Persian, Gujarati and Arabic.
6. Miyan Mustafa : *Makatib*, Letter no. 79. The author of *Faiz i-Am*, a *masnawi* which gives a detailed account of Miyan Mustafa, has dealt with the persecution of Shaikh Abdur Rashid and Miyan Mustafa at some length. According to him Amir Sanjar had assured Miyan Mustafa of his desire to fight against Alim Khan and since the Miyan was leading a retired life there was no need for him to worry. A battle between Amin Sanjar and Alim Khan took place culminating in the defeat of the Khan. Later on they attacked the Miyan Mustafa's *daira*, imprisoned all its inmates and killed Miyan Abdur Rashid, the aged father of Miyan Mustafa, and some ladies and children. Miyan Mustafa along with some other members of the *daira* was imprisoned and sent to Khan i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka at Ahmadabad. A number of religious discussions followed and Khan-i-Azam's earnest persuasions to Miyan Mustafa to give up his belief in Saiyid Muhammad fell flat. Even torture and harassment were resorted to but Miyan Mustafa was not built of that stuff which could have yielded to pressure. He, on the contrary, firmly stuck to his beliefs. (*Oriental College Magazine*, November 1940, pp. 53-60).

from the Shaikh and the discussion was prolonged. Haji Ibrahim of Sirhind, according to Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, who himself participated in the discussion,[1] "true to his vile disposition, became overbearing in the argument and highly annoyed the Shaikh." On Akbar's arrival at Fatehpur Sikri, Miyan Mustafa received orders to stay for some days in the house of Khwaja Abd us-Samad, the artist "Shirin Qalam.[2]"

According to Mahdawi sources too, Akbar showed the utmost consideration towards Miyan Mustafa Gujarati. A number of religious discussions pertaining to the religious beliefs of the Mahdawis were held in the court.[3] As a gesture of his patronage and appreciation of Miyan Mustafa, Akbar assigned some villages to him but he did not accept the gift. Shaikh Abd un-Nabi, during Miyan's stay in Fatehpur, subjected him to much harassment but could do him no harm as he enjoyed the protection of Akbar.[4] Continuous illness for some time past had made the Miyan very feeble, so much so that Badauni noticed him vomiting a great quantity of blood during his visit to the Miyan on one occasion. After some time Miyan was allowed by the Emperor to depart for Gujarat.[5] Forthwith he set off towards Biyana on 14 Ziqada, 984/2 February, 1577 but gave up the ghost *en route* on 19 Ziqada, 984/7 February, 1577 at the age of 52 years.[6]

Miyan Mustafa had himself compiled the collection of his letters and they had become very popular. According to Badauni his letters were an important evidence of his detachment from the world and his self-effacement.[7] They are, however, in the popular Sufistic strain. Renunciation and resignation to the Almighty have been sufficiently stressed therein. His two other works, *Al-Hujjat il-Baligha* and a treatise on the discussion of *Nasikh* and *Mansukh*, establish the validity of Saiyid Muhammad's claim to be the Mahdi. The discussions he was engaged in at the court of Akbar were later summarised and published in a book form by some of his disciples.

1. Badauni quoted from the commentary on *Gulshan i-Raz* by Muhammad b. Yahya b. Ali al-Jilani al-lahiji al-Nur Bakhshi with the *takhallus* '*Asiri*'. The author commenced this work on the 19 Zilhijja 877/May 17, 1473. (Ethe 1816-1819).
2. Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51 ; Haig, pp. 82-84.
3. *cf.* Miyan Mustafa Gujarati : *Majalis* (Hyderabad).
4. *Faiz i-Am* (*Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1940).
5. Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 51 ; Haig, p. 85.
6. *Faiz i-Am* (*Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1940), p. 66.
7. Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 51 ; Haig, p. 85.

Miyan Mustafa's departure from Gujarat, Mirza Aziz Koka's leanings towards orthodoxy and, later on, the death of Miyan Mustafa were circumstances somewhat unfavourable to the cause of the Mahdawi movement in Gujarat. Still, it survived these shocks and retained its former zeal and tempo. The proselytising activities of the Mahdawis increased considerably after the transfer of Mirza Aziz Koka in the 21st regnal year. Persecution by the orthodox proved to be of no avail in their case. Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir Patni, the inveterate enemy of the Mahdawis, could obtain only marginal success with the help of Mirza Aziz Koka ; but when he found it a tough job for himself he proceeded to the imperial court for further assistance. He was on his way to Delhi when some unknown Mahdawis pounced upon him and did him to death between Ujjain and Saronj in 986/1578-79.[1]

Though the Mahdawi movement continued to exercise considerable influence in Gujarat, it exhibited a poverty of eminent leadership of the calibre of Miyan Abdul Malik Sujawandi and Miyan Mustafa Gujarati. His son Miyan Abdullah , the son of Miyan Mustafa, did not settle in Gujarat but preferred to live at Amber and later on at Khandela. Though he could not be spared a longer span of life and died when quite young in 1004/1595-96, his *masnawi*, *Bahr un-Nukat* composed in 1003/1594-95 stands out as a work of considerable literary merit.[2] The literature, which the successors of Miyan Mustafa Gujarati produced in prose and verse in local languages, which they called Hindi or Hindawi, in preference to Persian, may be regarded as the most important contribution of the Gujarat centre of Mahdawis towards medieval Indian culture. *Faiz i-Am*, a *masnawi* written by Abdul Muhammad on 9 Shaban 1141/10 March 1729, is very popular among the Mahdawis.[3] Khub Miyan commenced his *Tarikh i-Gharibi*, a detailed *masnawi* on the Patriarchs, Prophets and Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, in 1164/1750-51 and completed it in[4] 1170/1756-57. The author has very fervently defended the use of the medium of Hindi[5] for religious works and it holds much interest for the non-Mahdawis also.

1. *Infra*, p. `.
2. *Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1940, pp. 84-92.
3. *Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1940.
4. *Oriental College Magazine*, February, 1941, p. 3.
5. "हिन्दी पर न मारो ताना,
सभी बतावें हिन्दी माना ।
यह जो है कुरान खुदा का,
हिन्दी करे ब्यान सदा का ।

Adhin Mahdawi wrote a *Wafat Nama* in 1175/1761-62, *Shahadat Nama* of Imam Hasan and Husain, *Risala i-Rag* in 1181/1767-68 and *Zinat ul-Musalli*.[1]

The Ulama remained unremitting in the persecution of the Mahdawis till the end of 17th century. Miyan Imad ud-Din, a Mahdawi of Miyan Mustafa's *daira*, was manhandled by Jiwan Khan's son Mirza Khan of Dhadharh in about 1089/1678-79 when he reached there *en route* to Mecca, and it was only with great difficulty that Miyan Imad ud-Din, along with his six companions, could leave the place, and that, too, after undergoing much humiliation and severe thrashing.[2]

SINDH

During the short stay of Saiyid Muhammad at different places in Sindh, a number of Sufis and Sunni Ulama joined his ranks. Qazi Qazan b. Qazi Abu Said b. Zain ud-Din of Bhakkar, famous for his piety, continence and knowledge of *Tafsir*, *Hadis* and Sufism, became a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad. He was appointed *Qazi* of Bhakkar and the adjoining places by Mirza Shah Hasan and exhibited an astute sense of justice tempered with impartiality in deciding the disputes relating to the *Shara*. His unshakable belief in Saiyid Muhammad brought on his head the stinging criticisms of the Ulama. His opponents exhausted their armoury of criticism against the *Qazi* in vain, as they sadly failed to shake Mirza Shah Hasan's confidence in him. Consequently he continued to hold the post of *Qazi* to a ripe old age when he resigned. The year 958/1531 saw his death.[3]

लोगों को जब खोल बतावें,
हिन्दी में कहकर समझावें।
हिन्दी मेहदी ने फरमाई,
ख़ुन्दमीर के मुंह पर आई।
कई दोहरे साखी बात,
बोले खोल मुबारक ज़ात।
मियाँ मुस्तफा ने भी कही,
और किसी की फिर क्या रही।"

1. *Oriental College Magazine*, February, 1941, pp. 11-34.
2. *Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1940, p. 82.
3. Saiyid Muhammad Masum Bhakkari : *Tarikh i-Sindh* popularly known as *Tarikh i-Masumi* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 200-202. It is said that when Qazi Qazan went to Saiyid Muhammad he had attired himself like a *kafir*. To Saiyid Muhammad's question regarding the motive behind his putting on such a dress he replied, "People come dressed as Muslims, oppose you, but in turn become *kafirs*. I have dressed myself like a *kafir* so that I may become a Muslim."

Qazi Shaikh Muhammad of Uchch, another eminent Alim, was also deeply impressed with the mission of Saiyid Muhammad. Originally he belonged to Uchch but later on migrated to Bhakkar. When Saiyid Muhammad reached Thatta in the reign of Jam Nanda, the contemporary Ulama denounced him as a *kafir*, but the *Qazi* defended him with all his might. It is said that on account of the blessings of Saiyid Muhammad, the *Qazi* and his descendants continued to enjoy their office for quite a long time. He was appointed *Qazi* of Thatta where he expired in the beginning of the reign of Mirza Isa Tarkhan.[1]

Shaikh Sadr ud-Din was another eminent and pious Alim of Sindh who became the disciple of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. His profound knowledge and learning together with an exemplary life accounted for his reaching great heights of eminence during the reign of Jam Nanda. Thousands of his disciples are said to have attained to great perfection. Armed to the teeth to oppose Saiyid Muhammad on his arrival in Sindh, the Shaikh's resolution to do so failed him the moment he was face to face with the Saiyid. A change in attitude overtook him and he deemed it a matter of pride to join the Saiyid as his disciple.[2]

Miyan Abu Bakr, an eminent *Darwesh*, also followed the example of Shaikh Sadr ud-Din when he got himself enrolled amongst the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad.[3] His tomb continued to be venerated for a very long time by the Sufis. Similarly, one Shaikh Daniyal was another eminent Alim to join the ranks of the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad.[4] Pir Asat, brother of Makhdum Arabi of Halakundi,

He is said to have composed certain verses in Sindhi.

کافر تھيو تہ ابھوے باب شريعت جھد   جي بھا ٻتّن پر بان ملے من مشرکان کسه

(I became *kafir* in order to obtain Salvation. Open the doors of *Shariat* for yourself in whatever manner you can so that you may be united with the Almighty. Keep your heart away from *Mushriks*). The following Hindi lines are also ascribed to him :

سانير کہو هني بکية مين لوکہين بجهه   ديابالين ديور وراتين بسين سجه

(People behave like those, who, while standing in river, pray for water from a well and who sow seeds while all sorts of food is brought before them. They light the lamp in broad daylight and look for the sun at midnight). (*Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 199-200).

1. *Tarikh i-Sindh*, pp. 203-204 ; *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, pp. 216-217.
2. *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, Vol. III, p. 218 ; *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 201-207.
3. *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, p. 250.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

a Sufi and a *Majzub*, had also accepted Saiyid Muhammad as the Mahdi; but this acceptance did not cost him in the least the veneration in which his followers held him. His tomb remained a place of pilgrimage for a pretty long time.[1]

Shaikh Jahinda Patni was another eminent disciple of Saiyid Muhammad held in great esteem all over Sindh. When Saiyid Muhammad reached Thatta, Jam Nanda at the instance of the Ulama did not extend a favourable reception to the Saiyid. On the contrary, much disrespect was shown him when the boatmen left his boat stuck in the mire. It was Shaikh Jahinda who hurried up to the rescue of the Saiyid and helped him out of the mire enabling him thus to cross the river safely. He was held in such high esteem even after his death that those who reached Makli would generally start their pilgrimage from, or round it up with, the tomb of Shaikh Jahinda.[2]

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw the Mahdawis holding an important status in the religious life of the province. Miyan Abdullah Bhakkari and Miyan Zakariya Multani have been very highly spoken of by the author of *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*[3] and Miyan Shaikh Mustafa Gujarati has also respectfully mentioned him.[4] Abdur Rahim Khan i-Khanan is said to have paid a visit and sought blessings of one Adam Shah, an eminent Mahdawi.[5] His catholicity helped the Mahdawis consolidate their position to a great extent under his governorship of Sindh.

The subtle but effective influence of Saiyid Muhammad's preachings did not confine itself to the Ulama and the Sufis of Sindh alone but even reached the hearts of certain nobles who felt pride in becoming devout disciples of Saiyid Muhammad. Qubula Khan, titled Darya Khan or Mubarak Khan, who was later raised to the rank of *Amir ul-Umara*, was one such noble. In utter disregard of his master Jam's stout opposition to Saiyid Muhammad, he accepted the latter as the Mahdi. Great spiritual benefits are said to have accrued to him from his so doing.[6]

1. *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, Vol. III, p. 218.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 184.
3. *Shawahid ul-Wilayat*, pp. 201-212.
4. *Maktubat i-Miyan Shaikh Mustafa Gujarati*, Letter to Miyan Abdullah Bhakkari.
5. *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, Vol. III, p. 103.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

BIYANA

Gujarat and Sindh, no doubt, are even now important centres of the Mahdawis; still, it was the Biyana centre, run and controlled by two of its most enthusiastic leaders, Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi and Shaikh Alai, that helped the movement reach the pinnacle of its popularity.

Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi was originally the disciple of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur. He would perform his religious duties in seclusion in a cell near Shaikh Salim's hospice, later converted into *Ibadat Khana.* When Shaikh Salim Chishti returned after rounding up his first pilgrimage[1] to the holy places, made by land, Miyan Abdullah asked for his leave to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Shaikh gave introductory letters to him for the Shaikhs and other pious people whom he had come across with in Arabia, Iraq and Iran. Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi travelled through most of these regions. On his return to India he came in contact with the companions of Saiyid Muhammad in Gujarat[2] and the Deccan and later adopted the Mahdawi tenets. He took up his abode in Biyana, in a corner of a garden far from the inhabited quarters near the banks of a tank. "He used to bring water over his head, and when the time of prayers would draw nigh he would gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way and compel them to form an assembly for prayer, with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the congregational prayers he would give him a few coins and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the congregational prayers to escape him."[3] Shaikh Alai, an eminent theologian of his time, was so highly impressed with the conduct of Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi that he turned into his most

1. Badauni has not given the date of Shaikh Salim's first pilgrimage. About the two pilgrimages of the Shaikh he remarks, "He twice travelled by land and sea from India to the two most holy places of pilgrimage, there to perform the duties of the pilgrimage. He set out on his travels, journeying to Asia Minor, Baghdad, Syria, Najaf and other countries of the western regions, spending the whole year in travelling, returning to the glorious Makkah at the time of pilgrimage, and then again setting out on his travels. In this manner he performed the pilgrimage twenty-two times, fourteen times during his first period of absence from India, and eight times during his second period of absence." According to the chronogram of Shaikh Yaqub of Kashmir who accompanied Shaikh Salim during his second visit, the journey was performed in 964/1556-57. (Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh,* Vol. III, p. 11 ; Haig, pp. 10-20).

2. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh,* Vol. I, pp. 395-396 ; Ranking, pp. 508-509.

3. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 396 ; Ranking, p. 509.

zealous adherent and subsequently became a terror to the court Ulama.[1] Meanwhile, Islam Shah had to leave Agra in 955/1548-49 for the Punjab to put down the turbulence of the Niyazi Afghans. When he arrived opposite Biyana at the halting place of Bahrsur, Makhdum ul-Mulk brought home to Islam Shah the inevitability of severely chastising Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi, the spiritual guide of the Niyazis and the preceptor of Shaikh Alai, who was a greater evil and lived in the hill country of Biyana, accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and was responsible for disturbances there. Islam Shah, till then the deadliest enemy of the Niyazis, was spurred to action and he ordered Miyan Bhawa Luhani, the Governor of Biyana, to produce the Shaikh. Miyan Bhawa was one of the leading followers of Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi, so he advised him to weather the storm by going into hiding for a few days, but it proved to be too weak a bit of advice to deter him from seeking an interview with Islam Shah. He therefore set out from Biyana and had an interview with Islam Shah, who was mounted and ready to march. The Shaikh greeted him with the customary phrase of salutation "Peace be with you". Instantly Miyan Bhawa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying, "My Friend, the Shaikh, this is the way they salute kings." The Shaikh angrily retorted that he knew no other form of salutation but the one prescribed by the *Sunnat*. Such a bold reply was too much for the men in power to put up with. He was at once seized, subjected to a merciless flogging with sticks, kicked and cuffed. The Shaikh, as long as he retained consciousness, kept repeating the following verse from the *Quran*, "Lord forgive us for our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk."[2] Failing to make anything out of his utterances, Islam Shah enquired as to what he was saying. Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri said, "He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers." It was too strong an accusation for Islam Shah to tolerate and hardened him in his vindictive attitude towards the Shaikh to such a degree that he inflicted indescribable torture on him. In a fit

1. He was not the disciple of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, as some authors believe (*cf. Maasir ul-Umara.*, Vol. III. p. 253 ; Blochmann: *Ain i-Akbari*, p. XXIX). Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi died in 1000 H. at the age of 90. He might not therefore have been born in 910 H, when Saiyid Muhammad died. Badauni, Mulla Abdul Baqi Nihawandi as well as Mahdawi sources explicitly mention that he adopted the Mahdawi tenets under the influence of the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad.
2. *Quran* iii, 141.

of anger he kept his retinue standing an hour longer while the Shaikh was being cudgelled and tortured till they took him to be dead. They left him there and marched away. A spark of life did, however, remain in the Shaikh ; he was wrapped up in a raw hide and given warmth for a night and a day before a fire till he recovered. He then left Biyana. Afterwards he commenced journeying and spent some time in Afghanistan (Roh), some time among the Afghans of Patan in the Punjab, on the confines of Bajwara between Amber and Amritsar and finally settled at Sirhind. A great change is said to have overtaken him, culminating in his renunciation of the Mahdawi faith.[1]

Renovating his cell, Akbar named the place as *Ibadat Khana.* Miyan Abdullah was casually mentioned to him. On being summoned from Sirhind, he had an interview with the Emperor in perfect solitude. The story goes that Miyan Abdullah informed him, "Initially the company in that sect appeared pleasant to me thus persuading me to put my faith in their doctrines ; but when the truth about true God dawned upon me, I recanted."

His Majesty despatched him back with honour. In 993/1585 at the time of the expedition of Atak when the Emperor reached Sirhind, he again sent for the Miyan and offered him some land as *madad i-maash* ; the Miyan quite reluctantly accepted it under compulsion but did not forsake his habit of relying on God alone, and did not in any way concern himself with the grant throughout his life.[2] Badauni has laboured hard to prove that Miyan Abdullah had later on abjured Mahdawi doctrines, but the Mahdawi sources vehemently contradict him. According to them Miyan Abdullah died as a staunch Mahdawi at the ripe old age of 90, in 1000/1591-92.

Shaikh Alai, one of the most eminent disciples of Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi,[3] was the son of Shaikh Hasan who, migrating from Bengal, had settled in Biyana. After Shaikh Hasan's death, Shaikh Alai succeeded

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 403-405 ; Ranking, pp. 517-520.
2. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 45; *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 405; Ranking, p. 520.
3. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 402-405, Vol. III, pp. 45-47; Ranking, pp. 518-520 : Haig, pp. 73-77.

   According to the Mahdawi sources he was the disciple of Bandagi Miyan Lar Shah, a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad, and came in contact with the latter at Delhi. After Bandagi Miyan Lar Shah's departure to Gujarat Shaikh Alai migrated to Biyana and settled near Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi's *daira*. (*Tarikh i-Sulaimani*, Vol. III, pp. 133-134).

his father. When he came in contact with Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi he could not but feel the hypnotic influence of the latter. He bade good bye to the customs and traditions of his ancestors and giving up his claims as a Shaikh took up his residence outside the city in close proximity to the dwelling of Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi. Practising utmost self-mortification and humility he devoted himself to the service of those whom he had formerly vexed, and bestowed all his worldly possessions, even his books, upon the poor. He allowed his wife the option of leaving him if she could not endure poverty and hunger. Afterwards, he approached Miyan Abdullah Niyazi and obtained instructions in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr* which was popular amongst the Mahdawis. The subtle interpretations of the *Quran* were easily revealed to him. His captivating eloquence coupled with unequivocal and unmistakable interpretations and explanations of the verses from the *Quran* had a salutary effect on the minds of the listeners, so much so that each of them, of his own accord, withheld his hand from all worldly occupations, and elected to join the *daira* of the Mahdawis after forsaking his family, relations and children, and to endure with a willing heart the hardships of poverty, hunger and self-mortification, pledging never to worry about his work or gains. If one had not that fortitude, the least he could do was to vow to sin no more and not to indulge in forbidden practices, "while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down." Thus about three hundred householders, agriculturists and skilled labourers, abandoning other sources of income began to spend their time with him subsisting on the *Sawiyat* which they received from unsolicited gifts. All filial bonds were ignored ; father was separated from son, brother from brother and wife from husband to follow the life of austerity, poverty and contentment. If some person, abandoning his vow according to the practice, indulged in agriculture, tillage or in trade he would spend a tenth part (*ushr*) of his income in the service of the Almighty God. Even in such an atmosphere of austerity and abstinence, they could not think of parting with arms. With a view to putting a stop to all irreligious practices prevailing in the city or the market, the Mahdawis in the first instance used a gentle and polite language. But if their persuasive language failed to yield the desired result, they would not hesitate to have recourse to force and violence, in utter disregard of the authorities that were in charge of the place, to force people to stop those forbidden practices. They were helped in these undertakings by such administrative officers of the

place as held religious views akin to theirs while those differing from them lacked in courage to oppose them.

Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi was greatly vexed with the popularity of Shaikh Alai. He advised him to quit the place and retire to Hijaz. He, therefore, commenced his journey with six or seven hundred house-holders and set out for Gujarat with a view to obtaining more detailed knowledge of the beliefs and practices of the Mahdawis. On his arrival at Khwaspur, near Jodhpur, Khwas Khan, who had been appointed to that district, not only came out to receive him but also joined his fold. But, on account of the musical parties of the Sufis that would assemble in his house every Thursday night and Shaikh Alai's insistence on observing lawful practices, upholding at the same time the rights of the soldiery, differences between them became so acute that Shaikh Alai was forced to return to Biyana again.

Meanwhile, Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri had very strongly prejudiced Islam Shah against Shaikh Alai. He had successfully persuaded the Sultan to believe that Shaikh Alai was an innovator who laid claim to being the Mahdi ; that the Mahdi himself would be the lord of the whole world ; and that, as Shaikh Alai was a danger to his authority, he deserved to be put to death. Shaikh Alai was accordingly summoned before Islam Shah. He reached him accompanied by a party of select companions, the males amongst whom were fully armed. Unmindful of customary courtly demeanour, he greeted the whole assemblage in the manner prescribed by the laws of Islam. The appearance of the Shaikh in tattered clothes greatly displeased the ruler and his courtiers ; Islam Shah acknowledged his salutation with indignation.

Islam Shah sent for Mir Saiyid Rafi ud-Din Safawi, the traditionist, Mulla Abul Fath Thaneswari, Mulla Jalal Bhalim Danishmand and other eminent Ulama, and an assembly was convened to make enquiries regarding the traditions on Mahdiism. Before the commencement of the debate, Shaikh Alai, in accordance with his usual custom, expounded a few verses of the *Quran*. He left the whole assembly including Islam Shah spell-bound by his pointed discourse comprising a criticism of the world, a description of the Day of Judgment and contemptuous remarks regarding the contemporary Ulama and their faults. Islam Shah was moved to such an extent that he sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions. The Shaikh, however, refused to touch the food himself, pleading, "Your food is due to the Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right,

contrary to the dictates of the law of Islam." Islam Shah restrained his anger and referred the enquiry into the truth of the dispute to the Ulama. In these debates Shaikh Alai spared none of the court Ulama of his relentless and bitter criticism and silenced them all with his scathing remarks. Criticising Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri, he remarked, "You are one of the learned men of the world but a thief of religion. You engage yourself in so many illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of the equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the Prophet, *upon him be peace and blessings*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door."

A number of Ulama fearlessly supported Shaikh Alai. Badauni says, "Likewise it is related concerning Shaikh Mubarak that he was a supporter of Shaikh Alai in this assembly and from that day he became known as Mahdawi."[1] To Mahmud Khan, a zealous supporter of Shaikh Alai, he had given the title of Saifullah (the sword of God).[2] Shaikh Jamal ud-Din, who was known as Shaikh Bahlul Dehlawi, wrote a treatise in defence of the Mahdawis without caring for the opposition of the Ulama.[3] Shaikh Alai's frank utterances brought about a change in his favour in the mind of Islam Shah. He informed the Shaikh, "Give up the claim of yours to be (regarding) the promised Mahdi and rennounce this pretension secretly in my hearing, and I will make you *Muhtasib* of religion in the whole of my dominions and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the contemporary Ulama have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbetted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed." The Shaikh firmly refused to yield. He had reached the heights of popularity and under his influence important nobles and generals had commenced accepting the Mahdawi doctrines. Things thus moved against the cal-

1. Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 394-402 ; Ranking, pp. 507-517 ; Nizam ud-Din Ahmad : *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. II (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 115-117 ; Firishta : *Gulshan i-Ibrahimi*, *Maqala* II, pp. 232-233 ; Abdul Baqi Nihawandi: *Maasir i-Rahimi* (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. I, pp. 637-639 ; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 253.
2. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 46.
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad : *Tazkira*, p. 32.

culations and wishes of Islam Shah and ultimately he had to order him to quit his kingdom and retire to the Deccan. This royal order came as a boon to him, as Shaikh Alai had been yearning for a long time to study the manners and beliefs of the Mahdawis of the Deccan. He ungrudgingly complied with the orders of the Sultan and, bidding farewell to his kingdom, reached Handiya, the frontier of the Deccan. Bihar Khan, Azam Humayun Sarwani, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family. Having embraced his tenets he would daily attend his sermons. Almost half of his soldiery followed the lead given by Azam Humayun Sarwani and they all lent a willing ear to Shaikh Alai's preachings. The news was conveyed to Islam Shah by runners and it exasperated him. Makhdum ul-Mulk also tried to fan the fire of the Sultan's wrath. Much to his chagrin Islam Shah saw with his own eyes a steady stream of his relations and followers moving into the ever-widening river of the Mahdawi faith.[1] Even Bihar Khan, an important noble of Islam Shah, had embraced the Mahdawi tenets. In these circumstances it was not difficult for Makhdum ul-Mulk to persuade the Sultan to believe that Shaikh Alai was a potent danger to his kingdom. Accordingly, Islam Shah summoned Shaikh Alai and exceeded his former efforts in trying to bring matters to a satisfactory close. Since there was no capable Alim who could debate with Shaikh Alai, Islam Shah sent him for final judgment to Bihar to Shaikh Budh, the physician and the author of the commentary on *Irshad i-Qazi*, who was highly venerated by Sher Shah. As Shaikh Alai reached the rooms of Shaikh Budh, the rythmic sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh reached his ears. He noticed certain other things there which were against the *Shariat*. Hence he felt constrained to enjoin upon the assembly what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Shaikh Budh, being very infirm and aged scarcely had power enough to speak, so his family tried to defend those acts. The points marshalled by the supporters of the alleged un-Islamic practices indicate the trend of the compromise which theologians and mystics sought to make on account of the peculiar Indian environment. They said that "certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustan are of such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatsoever, worldly injury and loss both physical and spiritual would inevitably result to the prohibitor; also that the women of Hindustan, who as a class are worthless, consider that loss as the result of restrictive measures, and for

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 402-403 ; Ranking, pp. 516-517.

that reason become infidels. In any case, legalising incontinence was probably a lesser sin than legalising infidelity." But Shaikh Alai stuck to his own line of argument and refused to be convinced.

Shaikh Budh was highly impressed by the arguments put forth by Shaikh Alai and, tendering apology on behalf of his supporters, extended due respects. In the first instance be wrote to Islam Shah, "Seeing that the Mahdawi question is not indesolubly linked up with the faith of Islam and very great difference of opinion exists as to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distinguished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh Alai of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, his doubts should be removed. Here books are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many books in the library of the learned men of your country ; let them settle the truth of the matter." The sons of the Shaikh brought home to him the futility of the opposition to such important a dignitary as Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah and, in tune with this attitude, they addressed another letter, as if from Shaikh Budh, in flattering terms to Makhdum ul-Mulk and sent it to Islam Shah saying, "Makhdum ul-Mulk is one of the most distinguished learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

Shaikh Alai was accordingly sent back by them to the court. Islam Shah was encamped in the Punjab. Shaikh Alai arrived at the camp of Bin Bau. When Islam Shah read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh, the physician, he asked Shaikh Alai to come close to him and said to him in a low voice, "You only say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim. You shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will and do as you please." Shaikh Alai paid no heed to his words and the Sultan in despair ordered him to be scourged. Shaikh Alai had already a deep wound in his neck as a result of the pestilence which raged throughout the whole of Hindustan. Almost consumed by the disease and exhausted and famished due to the fatigue, his strength failed him and he died at the third lash, in 957/1550. Not content with causing his death, his opponents exposed his dead body to a wild elephant to be trampled to pieces. The burial of his corpse was forbidden and officers were appointed to guard it. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, comparing the event with the execution of Sidi Maula, which took place in the reign of Sultan Jalal ud-Din Khalji, says, "At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great a violence that people thought that the last day had arrived,

and great lamentation and mourning was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early downfall of the power of Islam Shah. And they say that in the course of the night such a huge heap of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was, so to speak, entombed in flowers." Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri and his supporters fell from the estimation of the people and the incident fostered the cause of Mahdawis immensely.[1]

KALPI

Kalpi also deserves to be mentioned as an important centre of the Mahdawis. Saiyid Muhammad had himself stayed there for some time. Shaikh Burhan ud-Din Ansari, son of Taj ud-Din Ansari, an ascetic of great eminence and piety,[2] had accepted the Mahdawi faith due to the influence of Miyan Alahdad of Bari, a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad. A very small and dingy cell was Shaikh Burhan's abode in Kalpi, where he constantly sat meditating and engaged in reciting God's praises. He practised *Pass i-Anfas*[3] after the fashion of the Mahdawis, and although he had never studied any of the sciences

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 406-408 ; Ranking, pp. 520-525 ; *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, pp. 115-118 ; Firishta : *Gulshan i-Ibrahimi*, *Maqala* II, pp. 232-233; *Maas r i-Rahimi*, Vol. I, pp. 637-640 ; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 253-254; *Tarikh i-Sulaimani*, pp. 133-142; M.A. Rahim : *History of the Afghans in India* (1545-1631), Karachi, pp. 153-159.

2. It is said that in his youth he was in the habit of going daily to the *madarsa* of Shaikh Abdul Malik. With a view to reaching the school before the arrival of other students, he would leave for the *madarsa* very early in the morning. One day an old man stopped him on his way to the *madarsa* and enquired "Oh Burhan! Where are you going? The work you are doing is of no value nor is the path you are traversing a correct one. You should take to a retired life and to meditation." Shaikh Burhan paid no heed to his words. The old man wished to stop him on another occasion and repeated the same words but they went unheeded by Shaikh Burhan. The old man was irritated at this indifference; so on the third occasion he caught Shaikh Burhan by his collar, as the latter was about to go out of his house, and laid him flat on the ground with such force that Shaikh's legs were broken. The old man said, "Had I not broken your legs like this you could not have been restrained from going out." He came under the spell of divine knowledge and chose for himself a cell where he could only stretch his legs. He began to undergo penance and self-mortification, gave up cooked food altogether and subsisted on milk and beaten curd. (Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 195b).

3. Guarding or holding inspiration and respiration. It generally amounts to a complete control of one's self.

treated of in Arabic literature, he used to give most eloquent discourses on the *Quran*. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni himself met him in 967/1559-60 while he was returning from Chunar. The Shaikh recited some of his own Hindi poetry[1] relating to exhortation, admonition, mysticism, the longing of the human soul for God, the Unity of God and renunciation. An anecdote as related by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni is itself a piece of evidence to show the deep influence exercised by later Mahdawis on all those who came in contact with them. Mihr Ali Silduz, a bully, had severely beaten and abused some of his servants and attendants before he got entrance to the assembly of Shaikh Burhan. When he and Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni sat down together, the opening words of the Shaikh were, "The Prophet said that the (true) Muslim is he who (courteously) salutes (other) Muslims both with his hands and with his tongue." The Shaikh's words had a hypnotic effect on Mihr Ali and he, after expressing his regrets at once begged the Shaikh to recite the *Fatiha*[2] on his behalf, offering him, at the same time, something by way of a present, which was not accepted.

Attaining to a ripe old age of nearly one hundred years, the Shaikh breathed his last in 970/1562-63 and was buried in the cell to which he had retired.[3]

Malik Muhammad Jaisi was the most eminent among the band of Shaikh Burhan's disciples. Jaisi has himself mentioned in his *Padmawat* and *Akhrawat* that he was the disciple of Shaikh Burhan of

1. Ghausi Shattari says, "His speech was heart-ravishing and his discourses excited profound emotional passions. He mostly recited Hindi verses. *Firaq Nama* composed by him is full of pathos and heart-rending emotional expressions." (*Gulzar i-Abrar* f. 195b). Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi says, "His Hindi *dohras* are very popular and are not lacking in ecstatic emotion and inspiration." (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 283).

   Shaikh Abd us-Samad says, "He has numerous verses in Hindi which are well-known and full of truths and admonitions and are emotional. They are highly pleasing to all the possessors of love and good-will towards all men." (Abdus Samad b. Afzal Muhammad : *Akhbar ul-Asfiya*, Aligarh University Mss.).
2. The opening chapter of the *Quran*, also called the "*Surat ul-Hamd*". It is held in great veneration by Muslims and is repeated as intercession for the souls of the departed and for the fulfilment of other wishes. (Hughes : *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 125).
3. Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 6-8 ; Haig, pp. 10-12.

Kalpi who belonged to the *panth* of Mahdi. Shaikh Burhan is shown as the disciple of Alahdad and the latter as that of the Mahdi.[1] Ghulam Sarwar too, on the basis of Jaisi's works, has mentioned him as a Mahdawi.[2] Like his religious tenets, the details of his life are also shrouded in mystery. But for the fact that he commenced *Padmawat* in 947/1540-41 and wrote it in Sher Shah's reign, the date of his birth, *ca* 1494, and the date of his death 5 Rajab,[3] 949/15 October, 1542, are based on insufficient data. According to the author of *Maarij ul-Wilayat*, a work of seventeenth century, who appears to have studied Jaisi's works at some length, the latter lived till the end of Akbar's

1. पा-पाएउँ गुरु मोहदी मीठा । मिला पंथ सो दरसन दीठा ।
नावँ पियार सेख बुरहानू । नगर कालपी हुत गुरु थानू ।
औ तिन्ह दरस गोसाइँ पावा । अलहदाद गुरु पंथ लखावा ।
अलहदाद गुरु सिद्ध नवेला , सैयद मुहम्मद के वे चेला ।
सैयद मुहम्मद दीनहि साँचा , दानियाल सिख दीन्ह सबाचा ।
जुग जुग अमर सो हज़रत ख्वाजे , हज़रत नबी रसूल नेवाजे ।
दानियाल तहँ परगट कीन्हा , हज़रत ख्वाजे खिजिर पथ दीन्हा ।
खड़ग दीन्ह उन्ह कहँ जाइ कहँ देखि डरै इबलीस ।
नावं सुनत सो भागे धुने ओट होइ सीस ॥
देखि समुँद महँ सीप बिनु बूड़े पावै नहीं ।
होइ पतंग जलदीप मुहम्मद तेहि धंसि लीजिए ॥

Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta: *Jaisi Granthawali* (Allahabad, 1952); *Akhrawat*, pp. 664-665. Version of the Manuscript in the Maner Sharif Library:

पा पायउँ महदी गुरु मीठा , मिला पंथ मह दर्शन दीठा ।
नाव पियार शेख बुरहानू , काल्पी नगर कीन्ह स्थानू ।
उन्ह तईं दर्शन गोसाईं का पावा , अलहदाद गुरु पंथ लखावा ।
अलहदाद जग सिद्ध नवेला , सैयद मुहम्मद के वे चेला ।
सैयद मुहम्मद महँदी साँचा , दानियाल दीन्ह सिद्ध बाँचा ।
जुग जुग अमर सो हज़रत ख्वाजे , हज़रत नबी रसूल नेवाजे ।
दानियाल जो परगट कीन्हा , हज़रत ख्वाजे खिज्र किन्ह चीन्हा ।
खड़ग धारि वै चार जुग , देख डरें इबलीस ।
जाय चित सो भागे , ना ओहट भा सीस ॥
देखि समुन्द मँह सीप , बिनु बूडे पाये नहीं ।
होये पतंगा दीप , मुहम्मद तू धसि लीजिये ॥

S. H. Askari: A newly discovered volume of Awadhi works including *Padmawat* and *Akhrawat* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. (*Journal of the Bihar Research Society* March and June 1933, p. 31).

2. Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, p. 47.
3. Chandra Bali Pande : *Jaisi Ka Jiwan Vritta* (Nagri Pracharni Patrika) quoted by S. H. Askari, pp. 17-18.

reign.[1] His preceptor, the Shaikh, also lived to a long age of about one hundred years and died in 1562-63. There is thus every likelihood, if the year of his birth 1494 is treated as approximately correct, that he had been living in the reign of Akbar. The year of death given by the author of *Shajra i-Chishtiya* as 1049/1639-40 appears quite incorrect.

The initiation of eminent poets and saints like Shaikh Burhan and Malik Muhammad Jaisi into the Mahdawi fold must have reorientated the movement. The Mahdawi traditions of Divine love, renunciation and a humanitarian outlook seem to have drawn fresh life and vigour from the Bhakti movement.

The movement, however, assumed a new aspect in regard to its composition. It now had among its adherents nobles and grandees of the empire. Due to their joining the movement, the basic principles—distribution of *sawiyat*, *ushr*, corporate living—could not be retained in their original form, but were suitably adjusted to suit the needs of the new entrants.

Decline of Mahdawi Movement

The movement prospered under the persecution by the Ulama. The more it was suppressed, the more it flourished. But once this stimulous was withdrawn, there set in a lull so far as the missionary activities of the Mahdawis were concerned. The atmosphere of 'peace with all', which dominated Akbar's reign, saved, no doubt, the Mahdawis from further persecution and left them free to indulge in peaceful religious preachings and to lead pious and ascetic lives. But it indirectly caused an exhaustion of their zeal to spread the movement, and stagnation crept into their religious and missionary activities. If their number did not actually dwindle during Akbar's reign, they at least ceased to draw crowds of new converts.

Another factor responsible for the decline in popularity of their tenets was of their own making. Traditions, as recorded earlier, maintain that the world would come to an end after 1000H ; but the Day of Judgment would be preceded by the appearance of the Mahdi. The Mahdawis held tenaciously to their claim that Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur was the promised Mahdi and would not be followed by any

1. It is said that when he was brought to Akbar he had become hunch-backed. The emperor laughed at his appearance. Jaisi retorted, "O Emperor ; Do you laugh on the Potter or at the pot." (*Khazinat ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, p. 473.)

other Mahdi. They even predicted the approach of the Day of Judgment and thus created a fear psychology among the credulous Muslims, who took them at their word. The predicted day came and passed without any untoward incident or the prophesied signs of the supposed doom. The episode recoiled on the heads of the Mahdawis and the hollowness of their claims regarding the Mahdi, the Day of Judgment lay exposed. People no longer subscribed to their claim and gradually began to lose their faith in the movement. However, Mujaddid's vehement criticism of the claims of the Mahdawis[1] and a letter of complaint to the Saiyids, *Qazis*, and dignitaries of Samana, recounting the unchecked preaching of the Mahdawis and the way they would "like wolves take away one or two sheep from (the flock of the believers)"[2] indicate that they were quite active even in the vicinity of Mujaddid. Its area of influence, however, gradually diminished and it was in the course of time reduced to the status of a minor religious sect like so many in Islam. Still in some parts of Jaipur, Gujarat and the Deccan they retain their centres and enthusiastically preach the teaching of Saiyid Muhammad with modification on the principles of *sawiyat*, *ushr* and the ascetic life.[3]

1 Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi : *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter nos. 67, 68.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 15.

درین طوروا تعات تغافل ورزیدن مبتدعان را دلیر ساختن است ورخنه دردین کردن—ازمساهلات
است که جماعت مهدویه آنجا برملااهل حق را بباطل خوددعوت مي نمایند ودر اندک مدت
یک دورا دررنگ گرگان ازرمه مي ربایند

3. They do not practise *Taqiya* as is mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* but are only very zealous in the propagation of their articles of faith. In 1819 they assassinated, in Hyderabad, the author of *Hadiya i-Mahdawiya* who was the Arabic and Persian tutor of Nizam. Like other religious groups of India, they insist on having more holidays on account of their festivals, celebrated in Hyderabad.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES REVIVED

In the wake of the Millennium of the Islamic era, there appeared an intense desire among a section of the Muslims in India to study *Hadis* and other branches of theology. This desire was stimulated by the works of the Egyptian scholar Abul Fazl, Abdur Rahman b. Abi Bakr b. Muhammad Jalal ud-Din al-Khuzairi al-Shafii al-Suyuti, who died on 18 Jamada I, 911/17 Oct., 1505. Inspired by his contributions Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, to whose name 'Hindi' is generally appended, popularised the study of *Hadis* with a view to making the words and actions of Prophet Muhammad easily accessible to the Muslims. He aroused among scholars a passion to devote themselves to the task of disseminating knowledge and learning and to bring back to the *Shariat* its pristine purity. He and his disciples did not confine their activities to preaching or writing letters but made solid contribution to the fields of learning and scholarship. On account of Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir Patni, the disciples of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi and Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, the propagation of various branches of theological studies, particularly *Hadis*, and the efforts to foster the cause of *Shariat* and *Sunnat* and to restore the legendary glory of Islam were tirelessly carried on for about a century in India.

Shaikh Ali Muttaqi

The ancestors of Shaikh Ali, son of Husam ud-Din, belonged to Jaunpur, though he himself was born at Burhanpur[1] in 885/1480-81 where his parents had shifted. When hardly seven or eight years old, his father took him to Shah Bajan Chishti, who initiated him into the Chishti order. The death of his father at this time forced Shaikh Ali Muttaqi to move to Mandu with his mother. Here he got an opportunity to serve under some of the nobles of Mandu, amass wealth and property and live a life of comfort and ease. But this love of worldly pleasures soon deserted him and he leaned towards the life of asceticism and poverty. He obtained the *khirqa* of *Khilafat* of the Chishti order from Shah Bajan Chishti's son Shaikh Abdul Hakim, but shortly afterwards, in the quest of the Almighty and for the satisfaction of his inner self, he

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 266.

set out for Multan where he came in contact with Shaikh Husam ud-Din Muttaqi.[1] This acquaintance gave a definite turn to his life ; he took to piety, resignation and asceticism. He studied *Tafsir i-Baizawi* and *Kitab Ain ul-Ilm* under the Shaikh's guidance for about two years.[2] He got so devoted to a secluded life that Shaikh Husam ud-Din himself would often take *Tafsir -i-Baizawi* on his head to his door and patiently wait till he was admitted into the house.

Afterwards, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi took to itinerancy. He prepared two bags for the journey. In one he kept some rice and pulse together for *khichri* and some unmixed rice, pulse, flour, *ghee*, oil, utensils and other necessary material. The other bag contained the *Quran* and some other books including *Ain ul-Ilm*, which he regarded as indispensable for every one, and advised the people to keep that book always with them. Fuel he would procure from the jungle. His sojourns were confined to the places which fascinated him and afforded him scope to perform devotional exercises with the least hindrance. He avoided staying in mosques and generally stayed in a rented house. He would also take with him a ewer big enough to carry sufficient water required for his needs. He would do all his work without assistance. But if perchance he stood in need of help from someone else, he would obtain it only after paying suitably for it.

He later shifted to Gujarat where he obtained immense celebrity. Wherever he would go, people thronged around him, though he was by temperament averse to publicity. He usually lived a retired life and was not seen out of his cell except when going to join the congregational prayers. Quite frequently he would repair to some jungle to spend his leisure hours in prayer and meditation near a tank or a river. Later, he settled down at Ahmadabad for some time and got married. A son was born to him from this marriage but he died in infancy. Later, he severed all his connections with family life and

1. Shaikh Husam ud-Din Muttaqi Multani possessed a *kharaji* tract of land, which he would cultivate for his livelihood, and used to pay the *kharaj* regularly. He was a model of piety and devotion to Islam. He would not take any morsel of food unless he was fully satisfied regarding its purity from the point of view of *Shariat*. It is said that he avoided standing near the tomb of the celebrated Suhrawardi saint Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya for the simple reason that it was built out of the funds of the *Bait ul-Mal* which, he considered, ought to have been spent for the betterment of the lot of the Muslims. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 214-215).

2. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi: *Zad ul-Muttaqin* (Rampur Mss.), f. 4b ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 257.

earned his livelihood by copying manuscripts of standard theological works. Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (1526-1537) made earnest efforts to obtain an audience but the Shaikh did not agree to it. The Sultan then sought the assistance of the Shaikh's relations and disciples, particularly one Qazi Abdullah Sindhi, who was intimate with the Shaikh. The persistent efforts of these intermediaries elicited the following reply from the Shaikh: "His manners and dress are suggestive of his indulgence in certain practices forbidden by law. How is it possible for me to tolerate them and to restrain myself from asking him to abandon those unlawful practices ?" They replied, "You are at liberty to do and say as you please. The Sultan has no objection to it. He only craves to pay his respects to you." When Sultan Bahadur visited him, the Shaikh advised and admonished him. Next day the Sultan sent him a huge amount as *futuh* but the Shaikh passed it on to Qazi Abdullah saying he was entitled to it, being an intermediary. After the victory of Humayun over Sultan Bahadur in 1535, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi left Ahmadabad on pilgrimage,[1] and first reached Mandu to attend to his ailing mother. After her death, he set out for Surat and asked Ghausi Shattari to build a monument over his mother's grave out of the material obtained from lawful sources.[2]

He reached Surat, from whence he proceeded to Diu. When the Governor of Diu was informed of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's arrival, he extended a warm welcome to him and his party and took them to the fort. Meanwhile Sultan Bahadur had also reached Diu (end of 1535) and paid a visit to the Shaikh without obtaining previous permission and remained with him till midnight. The Shaikh did not utter a single word. Shortly afterwards Shaikh Ali Muttaqi left for Mecca where he became the disciple of Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri, an eminent saint of the place. He also contacted other Alims and saints and for some time sat at the feet of Shaikh Ibn i-Hajar, an eminent scholar of *Fiqh* and other theological studies. He also obtained the *khirqas* of *Khilafat* in *Qadiri*, *Shazili*[3] and *Madiniya* orders.[4] He then engaged himself mainly in the collection, compilation and writing of the books on *Hadis* and Sufism, the number of which is said to have exceeded one hundred. His profound devotion to the task of disseminating knowledge knew no bounds. He would acquire all such rare works as he could

1. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 6b ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 260.
2. Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 259a.
3. *cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, (1925), pp. 246-247.
4. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 257.

lay his hands upon, make innumerable copies of each and send them to the countries where they were not available. Money was no consideration for him while making purchases of rare works. He would pay even the highest price the seller demanded of him. He would himself prepare the ink for copying out the manuscripts and give it to the students.[1] He was prepared to sacrifice all his principles to satisfy his craze for the acquisition of manuscripts. It is said that once Asaf Khan, a *Wazir* of Gujarat who reached Mecca, made abortive efforts to see him. In the meantime Shaikh Ali Muttaqi was informed of a rare copy of *Mawahib i-Laduniya*, on the life of Prophet Muhammad, which was in the possession of a *Faqih*, but the Shaikh did not at that time possess twenty *Ibrahimis* demanded by him as the price for the manuscript. Keen as he was to acquire the manuscript, he immediately reached the house of Asaf Khan at the midday despite the scorching heat and requested him to lend 30 *Ibrahimis* to him. Asaf Khan directed his *Majmuadar*[2] to arrange for the money, which meant some delay, but the Shaikh had not enough patience to wait. After a short while he got up and said, "You please worry no more. I shall arrange it from some-where else." He went to the house of an Ajami merchant, obtained a loan of thirty *Ibrahimis* from him and paid all the money to the *Faqih* for the manuscript though the latter had demanded only twenty *Ibrahimis* for it.[3]

Besides the prolific works of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, the points that struck Abdul Haq, were Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's asceticism, righteousness, piety, obedience to the *Shariat* and to *Sunnat*.[4] Shaikh Ali Muttaqi would most tactfully enjoin upon others obedience to the laws of *Shariat* and based his preachings and teachings on a psychological approach.[5] His preceptor also did not directly teach anything but sought the gradual development of his soul. It was after two long years that he discovered that he had gone far in his mystic journey. He pointed out two methods of training a beginner for the mystic path. One was to inspire the disciple to completely give up all his previous ways of life first and only then to take up his training. The other method consisted in leaving the beginner to himself and only the main task of disciplining the soul was taken up by the preceptor. The latter

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhhyar*, p. 261.
2. One who checks or audits the accounts of the revenue collector in each district; here probably 'treasurer' is meant.
3. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 14b-16a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 9a ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 258.
5. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 19a.

device was regarded by him as easier than the former one.[1] He would himself did not take part in the class discussions; rather, he silently watched them and intervened only when it was essential.[2]

He returned to Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat (944/1538—961/1554) who was highly enamoured of his eminence and would frequently visit him, but the Shaikh would not even look towards him on account of his aversion to the Sultan's un-Islamic dress. But when the Sultan discarded it in favour of the one donned by pious Muslims, he was immediately obliged by a gracious look from the Shaikh. Elated at this, the Sultan not only invited him to his palace but also put his shoulder to the palanquin which carried the Shaikh to his residence.[3]

His greatest contribution to the cause of Sunni orthodoxy and Muslim revivalism lay in organizing a fierce opposition to the Mahdawis in Gujarat with the help of Sultan Mahmud Shah. During his earlier stay in Ahmadabad he must have come in contact with the Mahdawis though he is not known to have organised any movement against them.[4] His hostile attitude to the Mahdawis was the outcome of the reaction within himself to his own ecstatic trance lasting for about ten hours, during which he declared himself to be the promised Mahdi in Mecca. Shaikh Hamid Muhaddis, who was present on that occasion, had related the episode to Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's serious illness before that incident had banished all hopes of his recovery from the minds of the people. They were rather expecting the arrival of the news of his death any moment and were keeping themselves in readiness to offer funeral prayers. One morning he was overpowered by an ecstatic trance. Calling his servant he asked him whether he could be a witness to the fact that what he would say would be nothing but truth. He confirmed that he had never found him telling a lie. The Shaikh said, "I am the Mahdi of the last days. You should attest it." He verified the Shaikh's claim. The Shaikh thereupon asked him to call Abdul Qadir Fakihi, an eminent Alim

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 260-261; *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, ff. 13b-14a. Shaikh Abdul Haq had communicated this method to Khwaja Baqi Billah also. (*Makatib war Rasail*, pp. 10-12).
2. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 21a ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 261.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 21a; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 264.
4. According to Mahdawi sources Shaikh Ali Muttaqi was a disciple of Shah Dilawar, a *Khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad but was later on expelled from the *daira*. (*Tarikh i-Sulaimani*, Vol. III, p. 204).

and *Faqih* of Mecca, who was deeply devoted to the Shaikh. Coming to the Shaikh on his request, he too confirmed that he was the Mahdi. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi survived his serious illness, and with unimaginable strength and excitement dressed himself in white garments, placed the *Quran* over his head and taking a staff in his hand rushed out of his house with great speed. None could keep pace with him. He reached the precincts of the Kaba where a crowd had already assembled for Friday prayers. There he repeatedly cried out that he was the Mahdi. People were wonderstruck to see him in that condition. Thence he went to the house of Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri who was awaiting the news of his death. Bakri was convinced that the Shaikh's condition was abnormal. He welcomed him with reverence and seated him on his own cushion. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, occupying the seat, said, "It is my day and the day of my honour, rule and authority." Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri and his son also confirmed Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's claim of being the Mahdi of the last days on the latter's request. Shaikh Abul Hasan made a sign to his servants to close the door but Shaikh Ali Muttaqi hurriedly rushed out of the house and proceeded towards Pasha, the ambassador of the Sultan of Turkey, with a view to preaching his mission to him. On the way lay Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's own house. He entered his private room, lay down on his bed and enjoyed a sound sleep till midnight. After midnight he got up and, summoning the servant, enquired about his doings from him. The servant replied, "You know it yourself." The Shaikh repented and sought for the forgiveness of the Almighty. Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri, on being informed of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's coming to his senses, hastened to his house and, after offering thanks to the Almighty, expressed great joy and satisfaction over the Shaikh's return to sanity. After this incident Shaikh Ali Muttaqi wrote treatises to expose the "false beliefs of the misguided Mahdawi sect".[1] The first work which he wrote in this connection was *Talkhis al-Bayan fi Alamat Mahdi Akhir uz-Zaman*. This work is a rearrangement of material available in Suyuti's *Arf al-Wardi* and some new material added to it with a view to providing a check on the popularity of Mahdawi movement. The *fatwas* of the theologians of Mecca and Medina have also been added to the work. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi had no hesitation in acknowledging the greatness of Saiyid Muhammad as a saint, but he was not prepared to accept him as the promised Mahdi. The saints, as he believed, could not be free from errors hence Saiyid Muhammad's

1. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, ff. 22a-24a.

claim of being the Mahdi was unjustified.[1] Another similar work written by him was *al Burhan fi Mahdi Akhir uz-Zaman.*

The Mahdawis were not slow to take up the challenge. The refutations of the polemics of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi were compiled by Abdul Malik Sujawandi and Miyan Mustafa Gujarati. They nicknamed him as *Muftari.*[2] Abdul Malik went to the extent of criticising the linguistic inaccuracies of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's compilation. The latter sought the aid of Sultan Mahmud and the machinery of persecution of the state was mobilised for the purpose ; but unfortunately for Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, the Sultan himself was murdered in a hunting excursion in Rabi I, 961/February 1554. The Mahdawis' jubilation knew no bounds and they ascribed the sudden death of the Sultan to the miraculous power of their faith.[3] Without caring for the help from the Sultan or the nobles, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi continued to write refutations of the Mahdawis but without much success. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's rejoinder to Abdul Malik Sujawandi, written in 968/1560-61 indicates that his main criticism against the Mahdawis centered on the acceptance of Saiyid Muhammad as the Mahdi of the last days. He did not find it objectionable if the Mahdawis recognised Saiyid Muhammad as an eminent saint ; rather he was with them in this respect. He allowed them the latitude to believe in the veracity of the claim that Saiyid Muhammad declared himself as the Mahdi of the last days in a fit of ecstasy lasting for a longer duration. His contention was, "It is not at all a rare phenomenon to make utterances of this type in fits of ecstasy. It is rather quite common with almost all saints. Mere declaration of being the Mahdi in moments of ecstasy merits no extraordinary character, nor does it deserve to be treated as an inalienable part of one's faith as has been done by the Mahdawis." He advised them to treat Saiyid Muhammad simply as their master and preceptor. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi was also apparently impressed by the life of retirement of the Mahdawis, their resignation, trust in God and constant *Zikr*[4] but the Mahdawis did not compromise, for it was bound to take away the ground from under their feet. He wrote other treatises[5] and letters[6] and obtained *fatwas* from theologians

1. Zubaid Ahmad, M. G.: *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature* (Jullundur), pp. 47-48.
2. Inventor of falsehood.
3. *Zafar ul-Waleh*, Vol. I, p. 35 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Vol. II. p. 430.
4. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi : *Risala Dar Jawab Abdul Malik* (Rampur Mss.), ff. 9b-12a.
5. *cf. Tambih ul-Ghaflin* (Rampur Mss.).
6. *Maktub Az Hazrat Shaikh Ali Muttaqi* (Rampur Mss.).

against the Mahdawis. Gujarat, however, could not hold him for long; so he moved to Mecca where he died on 2 Jamada I, 975/ 4 November, 1567.[1] The thread of his missionary work was picked up by one of his most enthusiastic disciples, Muhammad b. Tahir Patni by name, who gave added impetus to it.

His Works

Shaikh Ali Muttaqi was a prolific writer. Of his works, the most famous was *Kanz ul-Ummal* which could elicit the following appreciation from his preceptor Abul Hasan al-Bakri : "Suyuti obliged the world by composing his *Jama al-Jawami*, whilst Ali Muttaqi has obliged him by rearranging the same." In Abul Fazl Abdur Rahman al-Suyuti's *Jama al-Jawami* or *Jami al-Masnad*, the *Ahadis* are arranged according to the initial words of the *Hadis* and the doings according to the names of the narrators.[2] Ali Muttaqi rearranged all the *Ahadis* contained in the above works under different titles in accordance with the arrangement in the works of *Fiqh*. It contains forty-six thousand, one hundred and eighty *Ahadis*.[3] His other works are mainly abridgments of Suyuti's works and bring out various aspects of the teachings and achievements of Prophet Muhammad.

As a man of action Shaikh Ali Muttaqi always examined the problems facing the Muslims from a practical point of view. He was conscious of the limited practicability of *Shariat* and avoided taking up those reforms which seemed impracticable in the Indian environment. One of the *Wazirs* of Gujarat complained to him against the practice of avoiding widow re-marriage prevalent amongst contemporary Muslims and asked him to organise a movement against the tendency. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi said, "God has given you power and authority and no success can be achieved without your help." The *Wazir* expressed his willingness to comply with his orders. The Shaikh said, "This evil can be remedied this very moment, but it lies in your hands." The *Wazir* anxiously enquired about the remedy. The Shaikh said, "I am told your mother is a widow. Get her married to me so that we may act as pioneers in eradicating this evil from amongst us. Others will then naturally follow suit." The *Wazir* was highly enraged but the Shaikh said, "An ordinance based on *Shara* should not spark off your anger. But if you give expression to the feeling of anger, it amounts to

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 264.
2. Bankipur V, (Traditions II), no. 408.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 415.

suggesting to me that you attach no seriousness to your complaint. If you are really serious about what you say, do as I ask, otherwise give up the idea."[1]

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD B. TAHIR

Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir belonged to the Ismaili Bohras of Patan where he was born in 914/1508. After completing his education in India, he set off for Hijaz at the age of thirty and became a disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi. The Shaikh inspired him not only to shine out as a great author and scholar but to work zealously for the dissemination of theological learnings. Like his preceptor Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, he would also prepare ink for the use of students and had such a great attachment to this task that while he delivered lectures to his students, his hands did not stop. On coming back to India he joined the mission of his preceptor, started for the persecution and annihilation of the Mahdawis. He pledged himself to the task of eradicating Ismailism too from among the Bohras and, had vowed not to wind a turban on his head till he succeeded in his mission. When Akbar reached Patan during his expedition to Gujarat, Shaikh Muhammad visited the Emperor who assured him that he would take the eradication of *Bidats* and the restoration of *Shariat* in his own hands and asked Shaikh Muhammad to put on his turban. The Shaikh tried to enforce the *Sunnat* and laws of *Shariat* from the point of view of a puritanist with the help of Mirza Aziz Koka who was appointed Governor of Gujarat by Akbar, and the Mahdawis had to sail on very rough waters indeed, but Mirza Koka's transfer from Gujarat left him without any support. He again removed the turban from his head and decided to go to Agra to induce Akbar to foster the cause of *Sunnat*. Before leaving for Agra he reached Ahmadabad to bid farewell to Shaikh Wajih ud-Din Gujarati who dissuaded him from undertaking the journey, but Shaikh Muhammad did not follow his advice. He set off on his journey to Gujarat but was done to death by some Mahdawis near Malwa.[2]

He wrote a voluminous dictionary of *Hadis* and the *Quran*, both entitled *Majma al-Bihar al-Anwar fi Gharaib al-Tanzil wa Latif al-Akhbar* and consisting of 1668 closely-written large pages. In this work he arranged all the words according to the order of the letters of their

1. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, ff. 17a-17b.
2. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 207b-208a ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 280.

root. He has invariably given all those derivatives of one root which have been used in *Hadis* together with the text of the *Hadis* in which they occur. Apart from giving the meanings of the words he has explained many doubtful points also in the *Hadis* in question.[1]

SHAIKH ABDUL WAHHAB MUTTAQI

Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi was the son of Shaikh Waliullah—a man of status and a grandee of Mandu. He was born at Mandu in about 943/1536-37. His parents had migrated to Burhanpur on account of certain calamities. His father's death, followed shortly by that of his mother, left him an orphan. Relying on his own resources he took to itinerancy in the quest of God and travelled to many places in Gujarat, the Deccan and Ceylon. Many a time he, along with his companions, had to subsist on discarded bones from the butcher's shop and the corn of wheat left in the fields after harvesting, which they would boil and drink. When the news of their presence in the city reached the ears of the inhabitants of that place, they would approach Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi and his associates with food but the latter would at once shift to some other place.[2] Normally he would not stay for more than three days at one place. He departed from this practice only in the case of those places where he intended to acquire knowledge from some Alim or to gain spiritual benefits from some saint.[3] Travelling thus he reached Mecca in Jamada I, 963/March-April 1556 when about twenty years of age.[4] Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, on account of his acquaintance with Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi's father, invited him to join his company. Since he possessed an excellent hand, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi asked him to copy out manuscripts for him. Due to his indifference to worldly pursuits and love for a care-free life he was initially hesitant to accept the offer of the Shaikh but later, in view of the eminence of the Shaikh, he joined him. While agreeing to stay with him , he had in his mind the advice of his father to associate himself with the saints like Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and to avoid the company of such saints as were celebrated for *Dawat i-Isma* and *Taskhir i-Muluk*.[5] Shaikh Abdul Wahhab was expert

1. *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, pp 43-44
2. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 269-270, 277.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
4. The approximate date of birth mentioned above is based on this fact.
5 This is a criticism of the Shattaris, particularly Shaikh Bahlul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.

in *Nastaliq* but at the instance of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi he soon gained a mastery over *Naskh* also and plunged himself into the stupendous task of the copying and collation of books which the Shaikh had undertaken for the dissemination of knowledge. Once he was able to copy out a book for the Shaikh, which comprised 12,000 couplets, in twelve nights without forsaking his normal duties of copying, collating and editing the works of the Shaikh by day. Under Shaikh Ali Muttaqi he usually led the life of utmost poverty and resignation. To supplement his meagre income he would copy out the books for others. Once during a severe famine in Mecca he kept himself alive only on brinjals. He would purchase and preserve them by mixing them with a little salt to be consumed when he was tormented by the pangs of hunger. His implicit obedience to his preceptor entitled him to be called *Fana fish Shaikh*[1] and he had imbibed in himself all the virtues and attributes of the Shaikh. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi had also, before initiating him into his discipleship, obtained a pledge from him to prefer poverty over affluence. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab throughout his life carefully followed his injunctions. He remained closely associated with Shaikh Ali Muttaqi till his death, when he visited Gujarat again. He stayed in Ahmadabad in 976/1568-69 but returned to Mecca the same year.[2]

At Ahmadabad his life was made miserable by the Mahdawis who, on getting scent of his arrival, surrounded the house where he was putting up and threatened to kill him. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi leaving his property, had to escape by jumping over the wall of the house. One of his friends was standing with a horse on the other side of the river and he rushed as rapidly as he could towards Surat.[3]

For the greater part of his life he remained a celibate. It was customary with him to distribute all his earnings, acquired mainly through copying out books, to *Faqirs* and *Darweshes*. After the death of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, he married at between 40 and 50 years of age and settled down to family life. But he would not ignore the poor and the needy. The travellers from India found in him a great patron and they were helped by him with all the means he could spare. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has highly extolled his encyclopaedic knowledge of the theological subjects.[4]

1. Fully absorbed in the Shaikh or preceptor.
2. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 269-270.
3. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 55b.
4. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 272.

Like his preceptor, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, teaching and dissemination of knowledge were his main interests. How deep-seated these pursuits were in him is evidenced by the fact that even in his old age when his eye-sight had failed him he would devote his leisure hours to the collation and edition of rare manuscripts. Knowledge was to him what food is to every one else. Just as no one could afford to ignore food in any circumstance, so would he not ignore knowledge. According to him it conferred all its benefits on its seeker and embraced every sphere of life. *Zikr* was regarded by him as a medicine which could be used off and on only for treatment. When it was pointed out to him that the saints had enjoined upon the seekers to always remain occupied in *Zikr*, he remarked, "All those who are occupied in righteous acts are devoted to *Zikr*. Performance of prayer, recitation of the *Quran*, teaching of theological works, all amount to *Zikr*. Performing righteous acts is equivalent to engaging oneself in constant *Zikr*. They, who give up the work of teaching and learning, abandon all other pursuits, take to a life of retirement and indulge in *Zikr*, take 'the treatment' which should be done occasionally. In the beginning a seeker, on account of the overpowering effect of the disease, could pay more attention to 'the treatment' and devote himself to seclusion and *Zikr*. Under no circumstance is the quest of knowledge to be abandoned. People are required to pay more attention to the purification of their intentions and motives." Once a *Darwesh* enquired from him as to which of the two, *Namaz* or *Zikr*, was better. He said, "*Namaz* is a magnificent task, but the excess of *Zikr* leads to 'union' which ultimately ends in the *fana* in *Wahdat*." When called upon to define the *fana* in *Wahdat* he replied, "It is a pleasure which depends exclusively on tasting it. The *summum bonum* of all the activities of the seekers of this path is to acquire this pleasure. It is an enjoyment which knows no end. If one is able to taste it once, one craves for it all through his life."[1]

The supernatural powers and miracles of Sufis could not impress him. He believed that scoundrels and heretics also possessed supernatural powers, were capable of performing miracles, and could find a place in the hearts of common people. They could misguide those who did not possess a firm footing in religion and faith.[2] Similarly he did not attach any importance to the ascetic exercises of the yogis. Strict adherence to *Sunnat* and the laws of *Shariat* alone, he believed, could

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 272-273.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

guarantee spiritual eminence to Muslims.[1] He enjoined upon all the Muslims the outward and inward rectification of faith in accordance with the beliefs of the Sunnis and to firmly stick to those principles. Afterwards they were required to study the work of the saints on the mystic realities and secrets. They were advised to ignore the obscure portions without worrying about them. He did not approve of people basing their faith from the very beginning on the advanced works of pantheistic mysticism and advised them not to obey everything they heard in that connection. He also cautioned the people from being hasty in the refutation of all that they considered incorrect. Bigotry was to be strictly avoided and attempts were to be made to scrutinise and understand the real motives of the authors of those views. If the disputed view could in no way be reconciled to 'truth', it could ultimately be given up. If it was not possible to refute those aphorisms, tolerance was to be preferred.

Once a copy of *Futuhat i-Makkiya* was brought to him by a bookseller. Shaikh Abdul Haq evinced an interest in the work. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab remarked, "If you have means to purchase the book, do have it and study it, for it is full of innumerable sciences and unlimited benefits will accrue from it." He however warned him that obscure and involved passages of the work should not detain him. The Shaikh was also highly impressed by Shaikh Abdul Karim Jili's monumental *Tafsir* and his work on Sufism entitled *Insanul Kamil.* Also, he cautioned the believers against the sugar-coated poison which the *Tafsir* of Jili contained and congratulated those who could avoid its poison and save themselves from its evil effects. He avoided discussion on *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and similar topics in the presence of theologians for it scared and disturbed them.[2] Of the two treatises, one written in refutation and the other in support of *Fusus ul-Hikam,* the latter held his interest more.[3]

He preached that it was not essential for mystics to have faith in *Tauhid i-Wujudi* from the very beginning of their mystic journey as it was propounded in *Fusus* and similar works. Righteousness and ascetic exercises conjoined with a firm belief in Sunniism were regarded by him as most essential for the Sufis. Adherence to them was bound to give birth to mystic delight and ecstasies which would enable the

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 277; *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 65b.
2. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, ff. 34b-36b.
3. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 37b.

seekers to comprehend something in their heart. He advised his disciples not to accuse a seeker of infidelity or reproach him with heresy, on the basis of his utterances regarding subtle truths of mysticism if they found him devoted to prayers and fasting and pronouncing *Kalima i-Shahadat*. But he would not mind their branding those followers of *Tauhid i-Wujudi* as heretics, who did not strictly adhere to *Shariat*.[1]

He did not entirely rule out the *Sama* but he did not approve of the way it was organised in India. The heterogeneous gatherings where people assembled indiscriminately and indulged in singing and dancing were condemned by him outright. A *Ghazal* or *Jigri*, according to him, could be recited in those *Sama* parties where no practice forbidden by *Shara* was performed. Similarly Shaikh Abdul Wahhab was disdainful of *Dawat i-Isma* too which had become very popular in India on account of the influence of Shaikh Bahlul and other Shattaris. Apart from his being doubtful if the saints practising it were really able to obtain the nearness of the Almighty, he did not like their impolite and harsh behaviour. Vindictive and revengeful by temperament, they would not brook for a moment any act of the people that was unpalatable to them. They were too ready to avenge such mischief.[2]

Though he himself could not get much opportunity to preach and popularise his doctrines in India, it was through his disciples, mainly Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, that his teachings received due popularity there.

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi

The saint's ancestors hailed from Bukhara. Agha Muhammad Turk Bukhari was the first to migrate to India in the reign of Sultan Ala ud-Din Khalji (1296-1316) with a large party of Turks consisting of his relations, disciples and servants and was soon admitted to the rank of the nobles of the Sultan. He was deputed to Gujarat expedition under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan in 698/1299. After the conquest of Gujarat he stayed there for some time in accordance with the orders of the Sultan but on account of some differences with one of the nobles, who too was deputed to the same expedition, he left for

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 271-272.
2. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 40b.

Delhi and was assigned even a higher rank.[1] He continued to lead a life of ease and comfort in the reign of Sultan Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah (1316-1320) and Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Tughluq (1320-1325) with his sons who numbered one hundred and one. But the gradual loss of all his sons ezcept the eldest, Malik Muizz ud-Din, gave him such a severe shock that he, leaving all his worldly pursuits, retired to the *khanqah* of Shaikh Salah ud-Din Suhrawardi[2] who consoled him. He died[3] on 17 Rabi II, 739/2 Nov., 1338.

Malik Muizz ud-Din's son Malik Musa obtained great celebrity. The unsettled life of Delhi, following in the wake of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq's death, forced him to leave for Transoxiana ; but he again returned to his mother-land with Timur and permanently settled in Delhi.[4] Of his sons Shaikh Firuz wielded sword and pen with equal

1. According to Mr. Nizami's reading of *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, he stayed in Gujarat till the reign of Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din Tughluq ; but the following sentence of *Akhbar ul-Akhyar* clearly shows that he was back to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Ala ud-Din Khalji.

ازبراي تسخير ممالك گجرات وفتح بنادرآن باجماعه ازامراي عاليشان متعين شد ازانصار
انصرام ان مهم بحكم سلطانى همانجا مقيم اقامت ساخت روزى اور ابابكى ازامراء ديگر كه دران
مهم باوي مساهمت ومصاحبت داشتند در بعضى قضاياخصو متى واقع شد خدمتش ازصحبت
اغيار روي برتافته متوجه بارگاه سلطانى شده بخدمت ديگر ومنصب بلند ترازان مخصوص گشت
بعد ازانقضاي ايام سلطنت علاي درعهد دولت قطب الدين وتغلق شاه او بافرزندان..............
دادعيش وكامرانى دادند

Akhbar ul-Akhyar, p. 299 ; K. A. Nizami : *Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi* (Urdu), Delhi 1953, p. 53.

2. He was the disciple and *Khalifa* of Shaikh Sadr ud-Din son of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. He came from Multan to Delhi and was a contemporary and neighbour of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chiragh i-Dehli. Unlike Shaikh Nasir ud-Din he always maintained a stern attitude towards Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq. He had travelled to many parts of U. P. and attracted a large number of disciples at Amroha. He died in Delhi in 1340 A.D. and was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh Delhi. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 66; *Majma ul-Auliya* (India Office Mss. Ethe 645), f. 621.
3. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 299.
4. Criticising Elliot's reading of *Badshah Nama*, Mr. Nizami has pointed out that Elliot had mentioned Shaikh Abdul Haq to be a descendant of Timur. Elliot's sentence in this connection is very clear. He says, "According to the *Badshah Nama* Abul Hakk was a descendant of one of *Timur's followers*, who remained behind, together with some other foreign Chiefs at Delhi after the return of that conqueror to his native land." [Elliot, H. M. : *History of India* (London, 1875), Vol. VI, p. 175].

ایلیٹ نے بادشاہ نامہ کے حوالہ سے لکھا ھے کہ شیخ محدث تیمور کی اولاد میں تھے

Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, pp. 54-55.

ease. He had acquired eminence in poetry too and versified the account of the war between Bahlul Lodi and Sultan Husain Sharqi.[1] He died in a battle at Bahraich in 860/1455-56 and was buried there. His son, Shaikh Sadullah, the grand-father of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, was born posthumously at Delhi. He became the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Mangan[2] who was known as *Misbah ul-Ashiqin.*[3] Shaikh Sadullah's intense longing and love for the Almighty prompted him to spend his time in weeping and wailing and keeping night vigils. He was a protege of Zain ud-Din, an Afghan noble and successor of Khan i-Jahan. After the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Zain ud-Din was removed from office and so fell on evil days. His abject poverty resulted in the withdrawal of all his associates who hung round him in his heyday. Shaikh Sadullah who did not care for the financial difficulties which he had to undergo was the only exception to this mass desertion. It appears that he possessed a vast collection of books, big enough to help him overcome the days of starvation.[4] Of his sons Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi and Saif ud-Din rose to great eminence. Shaikh Rizqullah was born in[5] 897/1491-92 and became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Mangan.[6] Later on he was initiated into the Shattari *Silsila* under Shaikh Buddhan[7] and like other saints of this *Silsila* thoroughly studied Sanskrit, Indian mythology and philosophy. He wrote verses both in Persian and in Hindi under the pen-names of

1. The work appears to have been lost in the times of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi. He has reproduced the following two lines from his memory :

   ایاقابض شہر دهلی شنو – حیاتت چو خواهی ازینجا برو
   مئم قابض ملک ماراست ملک – خدا داد مارا خدا راست ملک

   (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 300).
2. He was formerly a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Rawati but later on became the disciple of Shah Jalal Gujarati. It is said that Shah Jalal originally belonged to Gujarat but had shifted to Gaur where he lived like a king. He was murdered by the ruler of Gaur in his *khanqah*. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 173). Shaikh Muhammad Mangan was an ascetic of great repute and was held in reverence by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He died in 900/1494-95 and was buried at Mallawan, a dependency of Qannauj. It is probably on this account that Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has written his biographical notice under the heading 'Shaikh Muhammad Mallawan'. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 173-174).
3. Lamp of the lovers.
4. Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi : *Waqiat i-Mushtaqi* (British Museum Mss. Rieu, Vol. II, f. 802b), p. 58 ; Rizvi : *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Vol. I (Aligarh, 1958), p. 140.
5. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 174.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

'Mushtaqi' and 'Rajan' respectively. He wrote two works in Hindi entitled '*Paiman*' and '*Jot Niranjan*'.[1] He also compiled a collection of anecdotes relating to the lives of the Lodis, Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Surs, Ghiyas ud-Din Khalji of Malwa, and Nasir ud-Din Khalji and Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.[2] Itinerancy, intense zeal in the love of the Almighty, vigils and hard ascetic exercises, after the traditions of Shattaris, were a passion for him.

His younger brother, Shaikh Saif ud-Din was eight years old when his father died on 22 Rabi I, 928/19 February 1522.[3] Like his father and elder brother, mysticism and a yearning for the Almighty had fascinated him from the early age of seven. According to Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, his father and uncle were famous among the people for their knowledge of poetry, learning and pleasant manners, but their real worth was known only to those chosen few who could be admitted to their private cells. On account of the supporters and opponents of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* who had arrayed themselves against each other with equal enthusiasm, he found himself sitting on the horns of a dilemma. But he was soon relieved of this tension when he entered into the discipleship of Shaikh Amanullah Panipati,[4] a zealous

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 174.
2. Rieu II, p. 820b, III, 921b ; *cf.* Complete Hindi translation of the portions relating to Lodis in *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part I, (pp. 91-117) ; portions relating to Malwa and Gujarat in *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Part II (pp 51-113, 563-567) ; portions relating to Babur in *Mughul Kalin Bharat-Babur* (pp. 439-442) and portions relating to Humayun in *Mughul Kalin Bharat-Humayun*, Part II (Appendix A). The original has not yet been published.
3. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 300. According to Mr. Nizami he was born in 940/1514 ; (*Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 63) ; but according to Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi he must have been born in 920/1514-15.
4. His name was Abdul Malik but he was generally known by his title 'Amanullah'. He had drunk deep at the fountain of the pantheistic mysticism and was a great supporter of the mystic philosophy of Muhi ud-Din ibn ul Arabi. He claimed that he could publicly preach this mystic philosophy and none would be able to refute him. He also claimed that in the initial stages of his mystic life he possessed only two points which he could recall to his help while defending pantheistic mysticism but later on he became in a position to marshal sixteen points in defence of this philosophy. He wrote a number of treatises on *Tasawwuf* and *Tauhid*, *Asbat ul-Ahadiya* and a commentary on *Lawaih* of Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami were the main props of his fame. The love of Prophet Muhammad's family was the chief article of his faith. If the children of Saiyids happened to pass by the place where he lectured, he would stand up to show them reverence. He died on 12 Rabi II, 957/30 April, 1550. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 241-243).

protagonist of pantheistic tendencies.[1] On account of his ascetic leanings, he looked upon the mutual jealousies and love of worldly life of the contemporary Ulama with contempt and would thank the Almighty that he had not acquired much knowledge. He also advised his son Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi to avoid quarrelling in learned debates ; if he found his opponent on the right path, he should yield to his view-point. Otherwise he could explain his stand-point two or three times. But should his opponent prove adamant, he was advised to wind up the discussion and state that as far as his knowledge was concerned he had propounded the truth, but possibly he (his opponent) too was on the right path.[2] On being pressed by his preceptor to lecture on what he had learnt he preferred to write two short treatises on his mystic experiences. He did not care to compile his verses.[3] On account of their eminence he and Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi were regarded by the people as 'Delhi itself'.[4] Both the brothers would often sit together in seclusion and indulge in conversations full of pathos[5] and relate pleasant mystic experiences. The conversations that characterised the assemblies of the Shaikh pertained to the yearning for the Almighty, wailings and love for God, while the assemblies of Shaikh Rizqullah, on account of their burning passion and emotional warmth, appeared like fire, buried beneath a heap of ash, which emitted its brightness and warmth if the ash was disturbed a little. The assemblies of his father he compared to a porous substance through which water constantly trickled down but gushed out only by a slight pressure. Shaikh Abdul Haq described Shaikh Saif ud-Din as highly sensitive and emotional. Any conversation dwelling upon an emotional account of God was sure to bring tears to his eyes.[6] The verses of the *Quran* relating to threats would agitate him so immensely and fill him with such a great fear and emotion that they were recited at a very low pitch of voice in his house, while the verses containing an account of the divine mercy and His promises were intentionally given a loud recitation as they invariably filled him with joy and hope. Finding his end drawing nigh he gave up his food and

1. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 243-244, pp. 302-303.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
4. مردم این شهر اتفاق دارند که دهلی عبارت ازین برادران بود
5. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 301.
6. *Ibid.*, p.305. He would burst into tears on listening the following *Rubai* of Umar Khayyam even if it were recited ten times during the same day.

این کوزه چومن عاشق زاري بود است – دربند سرزلف نگاري بود است
این دست که برگردن اومی بیني – دستی است که درگردن یاري بوداست

would remark, "If a man is made to live in an inn for even two days, he gets sick of it. I have been living in this abode of misery for the last seventy years. Why should I not then feel vexed?"[1] After living a life fully engrossed in the love of the Almighty, he breathed his last[2] on 27 Shaban, 990/16 September, 1582.

His son Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi was born in Muharram 958/January-February, 1551. Having received his early education under the care of his father, he grew up as a highly precocious boy devoted to learning. He would recall various Sufic aphorisms, his father had taught him during his childhood. Some of these he comprehended, others remained an enigma. His intellectual brilliance and devotion to learning engendered very high hopes in his father's heart—that he might attain to greatness and fame. He wasted no time over unnecessary details ; his father taught him only the relevant portions of the traditional course of grammar, poetry and literature.[3] Even in his childhood he had shown such a great fondness for learning that relaxation and games had become foreign to his nature. His school was situated at a distance of about two miles from his house but he generally used to reach it even before sun-rise and would copy out a portion of some manuscript in the light of the lamp.

From morn till night-fall he stayed at school with a short break at midday to take his meal quite hurriedly at his home. After returning from the school he would again busy himself at his desk. His parents would ask him to play with the children for a short while but he would reply, "Games are meant for enjoyment. I seek my enjoyment in reading or writing something." He was almost mad after his studies, so much so that when compelled by his doting parents to retire to bed at a certain hour he would, in obedience to their wishes, go to his bed and feign sleep but would again start reading the moment he found them snoring. Quite frequently it happened that his turban or hair caught fire from the flame of the lamp unnoticed on account of his rapt concentration in his studies.[4] Thus, through his constant application to his studies, hard labour, a prodigious memory and his father's care he was able to complete the traditional course of learning at the very early age of seventeen or eighteen and shortly

1. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

afterwards committed the *Quran* to memory in a year and a few months. After acquiring a perfect knowledge of Arabic, Logic and *Kalam* he studied under some Alims of Transoxiana.[1]

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi seems to have then shifted to Fatehpur Sikri and come in close contact with Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi and Nizam ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi.[2] Discussions in the *Ibadat Khana* on various religious topics with a view to explore the divine truth[3] were too frequent and often embroiling in nature. The Ulama had lost all their prestige due to mutual bickerings and quarrels.[4] Consequently members of other faiths were also actively associated with these discussions. In Rajab, 987/August-September, 1579 Akbar, through a *Mahzar* signed by the principal Ulama, viz. Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri, Sadr us-Sudur Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Qazi Khan Badakhshi, Qazi Jalal ud-Din Multani, Sadr i-Jahan Mufti, and Shaikh Mubarak Nagori, assumed full power of selecting from amongst the decrees issued by the *Mujtahids*, the *fatwa* best suited to the occasion and the interests of the state, as well as authority to issue new orders for the amelioration of mankind provided that they were not contrary to *Nass* (rulings based on the *Quran* and traditions).[5] Shaikh Abdul Haq's

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.
2. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 113. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni also came in contact with Shaikh Abdul Haq through Faizi and Nizam ud-Din Ahmad.
3. Shaikh Abdul Haq's son Shaikh Nurul Haq has made this point clear in most unambiguous words. According to him, Akbar used to say, "My sole object, O wise men and *Mullas*, is to ascertain the truth, to find out and discover the Reality. Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions, you are not induced to conceal the truth, or to say anything contrary to the truth. If you do, you are responsible before God for consequences of your impiety." (Shaikh Nurul Haq : *Zubdat ut-Tawarikh*, British Museum, Add 10, 580, f. 203a, f. 109b). The *Ibadat Khana* debates got into full swing from 1575 onwards.
4. *Abdul Qadir Badauni* : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 200-205, 208-211, 262-263.
5. 'If in religious questions in which among the *Mujtahids* there may be differences, he with his penetrating intelligence and upright thinking, accepts the opinion of one side, for the happiness of mankind and proper regulation of the world, and gives orders accordingly, that order should be unanimously accepted, and the obedience of such order is obligatory and binding on the people generally and other mankind and in the same way if in accordance with his sound judgment, he issues an order for God's sake, which might not be contrary to the *Nass* (Ruling based on the *Quran* and Traditions) and might be for the amelioration of mankind, it is binding and obligatory on everyone to act in accordance with it; and opposition to it would be the cause of affliction in the other world and religious and temporal loss." (*Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 346). The present author has examined the debates in *Ibadat Khana* and *Mahzar* in detail in his thesis

preceptor, Shaikh Musa Qadiri,[1] on whom he has bestowed ungrudging encomiums,[2] had also become a protege of the Imperial Court. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni says, "Now Shaikh Musa, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has entered into the prevalent formal discipleship and obtained the *Shast*[3] of the military profession. He having resigned his former service has now become a commander of 500."[4]

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, however, did not remain for long at the Imperial Court before he set off for Delhi. The reason for his retirement to Delhi is nowhere given but it is alleged that he did not find the atmosphere prevailing in the Imperial Court congenial to him. He himself wrote a letter to Shaikh Abdul Wahhab mentioning the welcome he had received in the Imperial Court. He says, "They paid great consideration towards me and elevated my rank and intended to enlarge their party through me and to strengthen

Abul Fazl and His Times approved for the Ph. D. Degree of Agra University. *cf.* Professor Buckler's article on *Mahzar* (J. R. A. S. 1924) and Dr. Nurul Hasan's article on "*The Mahzar of Akbar's reign*" (Journal of U. P. Historical Society, Vol. XVI). Prof. M. L. Roy Chaudhry in his examination on *Mahzar* in his work *Din Ilahi* has only reproduced the arguments of Prof. Buckler.

1. He was the son of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri son of Shaikh Abdur Razzaq and was a highly reverenced saint. He died on 19 Ziqada, 978/14 May, 1571 (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 206). A dispute ensued among his two sons Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Shaikh Musa, who was the younger one, about the spiritual succession of Shaikh Hamid. The latter left for the Imperial Court from Multan where Shaikh Hamid had retired.
2. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 316-317.
3. *Shast* means, firstly 'aim'; secondly anything round, either a ring or a thread, as the Brahminical thread. Giving an account of the formal initiation of disciples, Abul Fazl says "His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shast*, upon which is engraved, the *Ism i-'Azam*' (the mysterious name of Almighty about which there is no precise knowledge) and the sacred *Talisman—Allah o-Akbar*. This teaches the novice the truth that :-The pure *Shast* and the pure sight never err." (*Ain i-Akbari, Ain i-Rahnamuni*, pp. 110 ; Blochmann, p. 174).
4. The original is written in a very sarcastic tone and is very difficult to translate.
درین ایام شیخ موسی بعد اززهد و عبادت ومجاهدت ومشیخت چندین ساله ارادت متعارف
رسمی به پادشاه آورد و شصت سپاه گری یافته وتسلیم نوکري کرده داخل امراي پالصدي شد
(Haig has translated it as follows: "Now Shaikh Musa, after all the years which he spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse'. تسلیم نوکري کرده may also mean 'having accepted (the present) service'. (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 92 ; *Haig*, p. 142).

themselves with this humble fellow. God protected me and did not leave me with them but created passion in me which had brought me to this holy place."[1] The restriction against professing the religion of one's choice does not appear to be the real cause of his aversion for the Imperial Court, as his preceptor, whom he thought to be following in the footsteps of Prophet Muhammad and considered to be *qutb* of *qutbs*, sultan of sultans and the rejuvenator of Islam and annihilator of *kufr*,[2] had himself accepted *mansab* under Akbar.[3] Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni says, "So long as Shaikh Musa was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he was in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the *Khalifa* of the age, and none could gainsay him".[4] Alleged restrictions on the religious freedom of the Muslims, as maintained in many self-contradictory remarks by Badauni, could not therefore be the cause of Shaikh Abdul Haq's departure from Fatehpur to Delhi. Brought up in an atmosphere of detachment and seclusion from worldly affairs, he did not find the court atmosphere congenial to his temperament. Catholicity and the policy of peace with all, which were making great headway there, were irreconcilable to his sense of orthodoxy and hide-bound prejudices. He therefore left for Delhi, whence he set off for Mecca in[5] 995/1586-87 on pilgrimage to acquire further knowledge of theological works particularly *Hadis*.[6] His mother was

1. *Al Makatib War Rasail.*
2. کسیکه قدم برقدم مصطفي بود بلکه دم بدم بقدم آورد........اگر دیگران قطب اند اوقطب الاقطاب استواگر ایشان سلاطین اوسلطان السلاطین محي الدین که دیاسلام زنده گردانید و ملت کفر رابه میر ایند

(*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 315); Shaikh Abdul Haq entered into his discipleship in 1577.
3. When the news of Shaikh Musa's acquiring *mansab* was communicated to his elder brother Shaikh Abdul Qadir, with whom Shaikh Musa was quarrelling for the succession to the spiritual dignity of his father, he is said to have remarked, "He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *Jagir* in Multan, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?" (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 92; Haig, p. 143).
4. *Haig*, p. 142.
5. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 370a.
6. Pilgrimage is a religious duty enjoined upon every Muslim of means. All the pious Muslims anxiously yearn for an opportunity to go to Mecca. They feel a profound sense of satisfaction there and desire to live there as long as possible. It is also an important centre of Islamic learning. His departure to Mecca cannot therefore be ascribed mainly to his disgust to the atmosphere prevailing in the Imperial Court, which did not, according to a modern

then alive. She was not happy at his decision, still she permitted him to go there on the promise that he would return direct to India.[1] Travelling through Malwa he reached Gujarat. In Ujjain he stayed for some time with Mirza Aziz Koka, the Governor of Malwa. Afterwards he reached Mandu where he put up with Ghausi Shattari who immensely benefited from Shaikh Abdul Haq's company. When he reached Gujarat the season for the sailing of ships to Mecca had passed and he had no other alternative but to wait for the next season. Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi extended him a most warm welcome.[2] He secured for him a passage on a vessel bound for Hijaz.[3] At Ahmadabad he paid his respects to the celebrated Shattari saint Shaikh Wajih ud-Din and acquired certain *Azkar* and *Ashghal* of the Qadiri order from him.[4] He set off for Mecca in the next sailing season and reached there much before Ramzan 996/July-August, 1588.

After studying *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih Bukhari* under the Alims of Mecca for some time he came in contact with Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi and remained under his influence throughout his stay in

author, allow any other religious movement to grow. It is rather a poor estimate of Shaikh Abdul Haq's character. There was no dearth of people who criticised Akbar's policy or performed Islamic rites in a most orthodox fashion. Shaikh Abdul Haq's own preceptor Shaikh Musa and Fathullah Shirazi, a Shia who was appointed *Sadr* in 1582 and who offered prayers in the very hall of audience, may be cited by way of example. (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 315, *cf.*p.340); Nizami, K.A.: *Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, pp. 91-95. Maulana Muhammad Yazdi, *Sadr* of Jaunpur, actively rebelled.

اکبر کا سیاسی اقتدار اس منزل پر پہونچ چکا تھا جہاں مخالف تحریکوں کا نشو نما پانا
نا ممکن تہا ان حالات میں ترک وطن کے علاوہ کوئی چارہ کار ھی سمجھ میں نہ آیا اور
انہوں نے غیرت دینی سے مجبور ہوکر حجاز کی راہ لی

"The political domination of Akbar had reached a stage where it was impossible for the opposite movements to grow. He therefore did not find any remedy but to renounce his own mother-land and, impelled by religious zeal, he set off for Hijaz.") According to Shaikh Muhammad Ikram he left for Hijaz for the satisfaction of his intellectual and spiritual urges, for the place possessed best schools of Islamic learning specially those of *Hadis*. (Shaikh Muhammad Ikram : *Rud i-Kausar*, p. 207).

1. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 89b.
2. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f 370 b.
   According to Badauni he had left Delhi for Gujarat in the condition of one who was mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 113 ; Haig, p. 168).
3. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 113.
4. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 163.

Hijaz. He learnt *Mishkat* under him. He then retired to a cell in Kaba to spend some time in secluded meditation. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab constantly watched his progress and visited him each Friday. He created in Shaikh Abdul Haq an unflinching zeal for Hanafi *Fiqh*, though he had developed leanings towards Shafiism.[1] During his stay in Hijaz he paid several visits to Medina. The company of Ulama in Mecca and Medina, and in particular that of his own preceptor Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi, had inspired him so much that he too wished to settle there permanently ; but Shaikh Abdul Wahhab reminded him of his obligations to his aged mother and the family he had left behind at Delhi and thus dissuaded him from materializing his desire. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab did not agree even to his paying a visit to Baghdad, for that would have meant prolonging his journey indefinitely. He said to him, "Now there is no use in your staying here or going to somewhere else. You should proceed to your own mother land. The obligations of *Shara* are to be given preference. Hazrat Ghaus us-Saqlain is with you. Wherever you stay you should have love and faith in him, have him in your mind and keep on obeying his precepts. He would not approve of your increasing the anxieties of your mother, wife and young children. You had yourself told me that your mother had permitted you to go only to Mecca and Medina and to no third place. How then can you go?"[2] Shaikh Abdul Haq could not refute him. On another occasion he quoted the opinion of Shaikh Abdullah Balyani who had remarked that "obligation towards the Almighty stood above all other obligations. In the quest of the *Marifat* a seeker should forsake his mother, father, wife and children and should yearn for the perfection of his soul." Hearing this Shaikh Abdul Wahhab paused a little and, holding the Shaikh's approach as incorrect, said, "All the obligations enjoined by *Shara* are obligations towards God. Their obedience brings one nearer to God and serves as a means to achieve *Marifat*. It is, however, a different matter if they interfere with one's quest of the Almighty and obedience to the principles of Islam."[3] He had therefore to yield before Shaikh Abdul Wahhab's firm decision that he should leave for his mother-land. Accordingly, he set off for India in Shawwal 999/July-August, 1591 which he reached in 1000/1591-92.[4]

1. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, ff. 49b-50a.
2. *Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 78b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 79a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 95a; *Makatib Wa'r Rasail.*

Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi initiated him into the Chishti, Qadiri, Shazili and Madiniya orders and infused in him a passion for the service of the faith and dissemination of knowledge in preference to the quiet and secluded life of a Sufi. He was also trained to face ticklish situations with composure and determine upon a line of action best suited to the occasion. He had learnt to take a practical view of all religious reforms and so steered clear of the opponents and supporters of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* by taking up the middle path. Sticking to his mission of reviving *Shariat* and *Sunnat* to their pristine purity he sought to keep a balanced view and made the dissemination of knowledge and scholarship the basis of his programme. He surpassed all his predecessors in his contribution to the *Hadis*. The introduction which he wrote to his collection of letters lays bare his policy and may be regarded as a mature assessment of his own achievement. He says, "This humble self is commissioned to speak nothing but the matters, relating to *Din* and *Millat*, which might be the cause of the promulgation and the renovation of *Shariat* and the source of protection for the beliefs and the injunctions of *Sunnat*. He is also required not to step out of the bounds of moderation and precaution and not to follow the allusions of *Wujudiya* and interpretations of *Batiniya*."[1]

Not long after his arrival in Delhi and giving a start to his school of advanced learning of *Hadis*, *Fiqh* and theological studies, there came and settled in Delhi Khwaja Baqi Billah who inspired not only Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid Alf i-Sani but also attracted Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi to his side.[2] Both of them regularly exchanged letters. Khwaja Baqi Billah was highly impressed by the attainments of Shaikh Abdul Haq and his letters were a source of great pleasure to the Khwaja.[3] Khwaja Baqi Billah's letters would deeply move Shaikh Abdul Haq, for the Khwaja had little leisure on account of his devotion to the Almighty, his meditations and his solitude.[4] He would communicate the teachings of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi to Khwaja Baqi Billah probably with a view to ascertaining Khwaja's reaction to them. Khwaja Baqi Billah would also enquire from him about the mystic treatises most widely prevalent

1. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, p. 3.
2. According to Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi was inspired by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani to enter into the discipleship of Baqi Billah. [*Kalimat us-Sadiqin*, Bankipur (Patna), Manuscript no. 671].
3. *Kalimat i-Taiyabat*, ff. 16b-17a.
4. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, p. 4.

in *Hijaz*. In a letter to Khwaja Baqi Billah, he has explained at some length the contents of the treatise entitled *Faqr i-Muhammadi* written by Ahmad b. Ibrahim Hazrami.[1] In his collection of letters Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has included seven letters written by him to Khwaja Baqi Billah. They cover a wide range of mystic theosophy and deal with various categories of *Ibadat*,[2] meditation and retirement from the world and aversion for the mundane,[3] different methods of training the disciples,[4] the importance of adhering to the tenets of *Shariat*,[5] *Faqr i-Muhammadi*,[6] a detailed discussion on *Sama*[7] and the conditions necessary for its performance,[8] *Zikr*, the teachings of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and other saints and Alims of Hijaz[9] and trenchant criticism of the worldly-minded Sufis[10]. He has mentioned three categories of Sufis;

1. Those who are not familiar with the ordinances of *Shara* and have not even heard of the traditions and aphorisms of the Ulama. He considered them illiterate who deserved to be educated and brought home the truth.[11]

2. Those who maintain that they have nothing to do with *Shariat* and who hold on to the skirts of the Almighty and attach no importance to others. He considered them *kafirs* deserving of such severe punishment as was prescribed for apostates.

3. Those who believe only in the traditions of their preceptors and accept that whatever is communicated to them which conforms to the *Shariat* is true, but further hold that their preceptors have not indulged in acts ordinarily considered unlawful without good authority. Shaikh Abdul Haq asserted that it should be impressed upon these Sufis that their predecessors might have done some unlawful act under the influence of mystic ecstasy on some particular occasion and that this should not be made a precedent ; no fanaticism should be allowed to hold sway in these matters.[12]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 36, *cf. Zad ul-Muttaqin*, f. 44a.
2. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, pp. 24-25.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-36, 39.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-50.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-71.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-24.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 71.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

After his return from Hijaz, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi appears to have given up the idea of pursuing a secluded life and started establishing closer contacts with some nobles. He wrote letters to Khan i-Khanan and Shaikh Farid Bukhari. Five letters to Khan i-Khanan, seven letters to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, one letter to Shaikh Abul Khair, brother of Shaikh Abul Faiz and Shaikh Abul Fazl, and one letter to Shaikh Faizi included in the collection of his letters are of absorbing interest. All the letters focus the attention on the vital need of fostering the *Shariat* and strengthening the cause of *Sunnat*.

In a letter to Khan i-Khanan he has stressed the necessity of meditating on God in solitude and praying to Him, even if it be for a short while during the course of a day.[1] Since much had already been said and written on various aspects of religious teachings, he did not think it expedient to add anything more,but only laid stress on acting up to them.[2] In his second letter to the Khan i-Khanan he informed him that a rich man ought to consider *Faqirs* better than himself and a *Faqir* in his own turn should treat the rich people as superior to him, so that pride and conceit should not enter his mind.[3] In this letter too, the importance of the morning *munajat* (invocation of God in rapt attention and meditation) has been adequately emphasised.[4] His third letter to Khan i-Khanan shows that he had requested Abdul Haq to occasionally write to him and inform him regarding the requirements of the times.[5] Stressing the need to lead the life of a practising believer he enjoined him to draw inspiration direct from Prophet Muhammad, for, despite all the difference of opinion amongst the Ulama, all unanimously acclaimed Prophet Muhammad as a model to be followed by the successive generations. This truth had been emphasised for the past thousand years and more. *Salwat*[6] should be appended to the *Kalima* of *Tauhid* which was the very object of one's yearnings.[7] The fourth letter strongly criticises the attitude of those who try to subordinate the *Shariat* to philosophy and interpret it accordingly.[8] To lend emphasis to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, he said,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
6. Blessings for Prophet Muhammad, his family and companions.
7. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, pp. 155-156.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

"Hundreds of Aristotles and Avicennas go to beg at his doors but are refused even an entry." He advised him not to worry about the ambiguous and obscure portions of the teachings of the Sufis, but to skip over the pages containing such discussions and to concentrate only upon what was unambiguous.[1] In the fifth letter he wrote to him about *Haqiqat i-Muhammadi and Tajdid* in the following words, "The *Haqiqat i-Muhammadi* has cycles like those of the heavenly bodies. Each cycle ends with the century. It has been said, "God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person in this *Ummat* (Islam) who will infuse new life into the religion.[2] Whoever becomes a cause of performing such acts which lead to the strengthening, revival and promulgation of this affair (Muslim revivalism) is included in this prophecy. It does not matter to which profession he belongs. This can be applicable to the Ulama, *Mashaikh*, nobles, rulers, *i.e.* to any of these. The highest of all the affairs relates to the guidance, revival and promulgation of the laws of *Sunnat*. Nothing is higher than the above affair which may be a source of eternal gain and perpetual felicity."[3] Thus he tried to encourage him to undertake the task of reviving *Shara* and fostering the cause of *Sunnat*, and predicted his future greatness if he could take that task in hand.

In one of the letters written to Shaikh Farid, after the death of Akbar, he recalled the inevitability of death and wished peace and prosperity, justice and equity under his illustrious and fortunate successor for every living being particularly the Muslims. He laboured hard to show that "though death is unavoidable and is the ultimate lot of each on the earth, it is death alone which is least heeded."[4] He illustrated his point with an anecdote of a traveller who, on being chased by a lion, hung himself down a well by catching hold of some branches sprouting out of the walls of the well. But as ill-luck would have it, he noticed a rat above his head nibbling at the branches he was clinging to and a crocodile below in the water with its jaws wide open to receive its likely victim. Though in the jaws of death, the sight of a little honey sticking to the walls of the well diverted his mind from the impending danger and he began to lick it. He had hardly finished licking it off, when the branches he was catching hold of gave way, having been nibbled through by the rat, and in the twinkling of an eye he

1. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
2. Tradition from *Ibn Daud.*
3. *Ibid*, p. 171.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

found himself in the jaws of the crocodile. Shaikh Abdul Haq added that human beings were like that honey-licker in the well who was caught between two death traps—one laid by the lion and the other by the crocodile—and was being deprived of his sole support.[1] The Shaikh still found people claiming themselves as God or the Prophet with no knowledge that the prophets possessed divinely bestowed powers. In this connection he only referred to those miracles which Prophet Muhammad is believed to have shown.[2] Since the worldly pursuits and duties associated with human subsistence could not be given up, it was essential for them that they should not act contrary to the divine ordinances and should in no case give up the path of the *Shariat*. Outwardly they should remain with the people but inwardly concentrate on God. Thus, they might seem to be living in the world but in reality should not have any attachment to it.[3] Referring to various worldly occupations he maintained that if they were performed in strict conformity to *Shara* they could be the source of felicity in the next world.[4]

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi felt himself deeply indebted to Shaikh Farid on account of his patronage to the Sufis, hence he considered it essential to convey to him some pieces of advice as his well-wisher.[5] He expressed his views with caution and in guarded language for two reasons. Firstly, he did not find himself competent to advise him and express the divine truth and secondly he was afraid lest the excessive flow of his pen might lead him to express certain things which could be misinterpreted.[6] He also attached great importance to Shaikh Farid.[7]

In another letter to Shaikh Farid he, like his predecessors, stressed that the Muslims should first of all acquire adequate knowledge of the *Shariat* and *Fiqh* and later on attend to Sufism. He summed up the above view in the precept that one should be *Faqih-Sufi* and not *Sufi-Faqih*. He strengthened his argument with the precept of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani that "every *Haqiqat*,[8] which is contradicted by the *Shariat*,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-166.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
8. Divine Truth or Reality.

is heresy" *i.e.* if a Sufi believes in something revealed to him, which is not in conformity with the *Shariat*, he becomes a *kafir* or heretic.[1] The kernal of faith, he thus informed Shaikh Farid, was to follow the Prophet most sincerely. Every other thing was, according to him, the corollary of the above proposition.[2] In another letter he brought home to him that nothing but fostering the faith and propagation and strengthening of *Sunnat* was a source of honour in the presence of the Almighty. Things enjoined by the *Shariat* should be followed and forbidden ones be avoided. The obligatory prayers should in all cases be preferred over supererogative prayers and other religious and ascetic exercises.[3] Consequently he unhesitatingly condemned the ascetic exercises and meditation of Yogis and other non-Muslims. He considered their spiritual attainments unreliable.[4] He asserted, "The duties enjoined by *Shara* upon Muslims are not to be subjected to the test of reason ; implicit obedience to all the laws of *Shariat* should be the guiding principle of Muslims in their lives.[5] The rewards and punishments for all the virtues and vices are attainable on the Day of Judgment and reason has nothing to do with it."[6] He not only preached the utmost respect for pious Muslims and for those who implicitly obeyed all the obligations enjoined upon Muslims but also urged the faithful to insult, humiliate and dishonour those who practised *Bidat.*[7] He quoted the sayings of the eminent religious guides according to which the annihilation of *Mulhids* and *Zindiqs* amounted to bringing life to the Prophets who had laid the basis of faith and *Shariat*. He illustrated his approach with this discourse : "They , who honour and respect the ways and manners of one's opponent, condemn that person. But when they show honour and respect to the ways and manners of some particular man, they as a matter of fact do him honour. Thus the friend of a friend is considered as a friend while the enemy of a friend is treated as an enemy." The motive was not regarded by him to be a reliable test for the action and behaviour of human beings. He contended, "Virtue and vice are related only to *Shara* and all

1. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, pp. 127-128.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-271.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
7. Probably Mahdawis and Shias.

other discussions are superfluous."[1] Any inclination towards the religion of non-Muslims or any desire to show them honour were accordingly dubbed by him as un-Islamic. Curiously enough he preached that even if a Muslim reciting *Kalima* were found guilty of hundreds of vices, nothing should be pronounced against him and his vices should be tolerated. His attention should rather be made to focus on the laws of *Shariat* and the practices enjoined by it. The light of faith was always there to help him wash off his sins and the intercession of Prophet Muhammad was to secure him salvation on the Day of Judgment.[2]

In a letter to Shaikh Farid, he divided human beings into four categories :

1. *Muluk i-Duniya wa Akhirat* (Kings in this world as well as in the other world);
2. *Fuqra i-Duniya wa Akhirat* (Beggars in this world and in the next);
3. *Muluk i-Duniya wa Fuqra i-Akhirat* (Kings in this world and beggars in the next world);
4. *Fuqra i-Duniya wa Muluk i-Akhirat* (Beggars in this world and kings in the next).

"*Muluk i-Duniya wa Akhirat* are those who along with their worldly life of ease and prosperity and engagement in the political activities take the provision of righteous acts and treasure of the felicity with them to the next world and, as a reward for their actions, they are blessed with the affluence of paradise and the good fortune of the vision of the Almighty."

"*Fuqra i-Duniya wa Muluk i-Akhirat* are those who are not benefited by the delights of this world and enjoyments of transitory appetites but acquire the eternal blessings."[3]

He did not define the remaining two but left them to be inferred. He considered the first and the fourth as of the highest spiritual rank and advised Shaikh Farid to seek the eternal blessings.

Faizi's view of 'peace with all' was repugnant to him, so much so that he considered Faizi an enemy of Prophet Muhammad who had

1. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, pp. 270-272.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

fallen in the pit of *kufr* and aberration. Though he conceded that Faizi had attained to great heights as a poet and a scholar, he could not overcome his strong feelings of opposition to his religious views which he exhibited by remarking, "The tongues of people of religion and faith of the threshold of prophethood seek solitude in taking his name and that of his disgraceful party.[1]" Faizi however did not mind the invectives poured out against him. He loved to help his opponents in their difficulties.[2] He knew that the mission of "peace with all" cannot be pursued by paying back the opponents in their own coin. When Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi arrived from Hijaz, Shaikh Faizi was away in the Deccan on an embassy.[3] After his return to the imperial court at Lahore in 1593, he wrote several letters to Shaikh Abdul Haq giving an account of the interesting incidents of his return journey[4], and the completion of his commentary[5] on the *Quran* (10 Rabi II, 1002/3 January, 1594) and the anxiety to send a copy as a gift.[6] In 1003/1594-95, he informed him of the completion of his *masnawi* —*Nal Daman*.[7] But Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi preferred

1. Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi : *Fihras at-Tawalif* (Rampur Mss).
2. Faizi went on an embassy to Raja Ali Khan and Burhan ul-Mulk on 24th August, 1591 (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 909) and returned on 7th May 1593 after an absence of one year, eight months and fourteen days. (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 639).
3. Nur ud-Din Muhammad Abdullah: *Latifa i-Faiyazi* (Lucknow University Manuscript), ff. 65a-67b.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 56b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 63a.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 53b.

   Faizi planned to compose a *khamsa* in the style of Nizami's famous collection of five *masnawis* in the 30th Divine year.

   (a) *Markaz i-Adwar* after the model of the *Makhzan i-Asrar* in 3,000 verses.

   (b) *Sulaiman and Bilqis* after the model of the *Khusrau* and *Shirin* in 4,000 verses.

   (c) *Nal Daman* (Story of Raja Nal and Damyanti) after the model of *Laila Majnun* in 4,000 verses

   (d) *Haft Kishwar* after the style of the *Haft Paikar* in 5,000 verses.

   (e) *Akbar Nama* in the metre of *Sikandar Nama*.
7. Except *Makhzan i-Adwar* and *Nal Daman*, none of the above works could be completed. (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 661-662). *Nal Daman* was presented to Akbar on the Ist Dai of 39th Divine era (11th December, 1594 A.D.). A fragment of *Akbar Nama* known as *Zafar Nama i-Ahmadabad* dealing with Akbar's conquest of Ahmadabad is available in some manuscript libraries. (Rieu III, 1001a).

not to associate himself with Faizi. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni says, "Shaikh Faizi, after his return from the Deccan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him)." Shaikh Abdul Haq seems to have apprehended that his associations with Faizi might cool down his puritanism and hinder his mission of reviving the *Shariat* and the *Sunnat*. He therefore made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming.[1] In his letter to Faizi, Shaikh Abdul Haq drew a comparison between the conditions of the two classes of people, one living a life of pleasure and luxury and the other devoted to a life of retirement and solitude.[2] He wrote to him, "More than once I have had an urge to follow in the footsteps of the common people or, to be more precise, to live the life of the common people ; but my better self or the inner voice gets an upper hand and persuades me to become deaf to the call of animal passions and to continue the life of retirment, treading the path I have voluntarily chosen . This inner voice derives its strength from the consciousness of the transitory nature of the world, the shortness of the span of one's life as also the awareness that I am not a lonely traveller on this path ; for so many others have already pursued it."[3] After the receipt of this letter Shaikh Faizi appears to have decided not to press him any more to visit him. So he wrote back, "If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come, it will be light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But had I possessed wings, I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song of my desire."[4]

Shaikh Abdul Haq has explained the theological problems of Sunnis and the supremacy of the *Shariat* in several other letters. His main contribution was however not limited to writing letters, preaching or sermonising ; he took to more practical steps. After his return from

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 115; Haig, p. 170 ; *Lataif i-Faizi*, ff. 57a-57b.
2. *Makat'b Wa'r Rasa'l*, p. 160.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
4. Haig, p. 171 ; *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 116.

Hijaz he engaged himself in the task of making solid contributions to all the branches of theological studies, particularly *Hadis* and the beliefs of the *Hanafis*. In his literary efforts he derived inspiration from Shah Abul Maali Qadiri[1] who directed him to proceed with his efforts utterly unmindful of the criticisms and reproaches and to remain absorbed in Ghaus ul-Azam Shaikh Abdul Qadir. He advised Shaikh Abdul Haq to complete his commentary on *Mishkat* and predicted it would have value and utility when he bade him farewell on his visit to Lahore. He also asked him to enhance its literary value by adding verses[2] suiting the context after the model of Mulla Husain Waiz al-Kashifi's[3] *Tafsir*. Insisting on his presence in Delhi at all costs,

1. Shah Abul Maali was the nephew, the son-in-law and spiritual successor of Shaikh Daud (*d*. 982/1574-75). (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 28-32 ; *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 207-208). He was born in 961/1553-54 and named Shaikh Abul Maali at the instance of Shaikh Daud ; this name, unusual in India and popular with the Mughuls, was taken as a prediction for the return of Humayun which took place next year. He was intimate with Shaikh Abdul Qadir Badauni also who has highly extolled his virtues as a saint. He says, "Shaikh Abul Maali is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor." (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 102-105 : Haig, pp. 153-157). He wrote a number of treatises to popularise the Qadiri order in India and bore "Ghurbati" as *takhallus*. His devotion to his uncle and preceptor Shaikh Daud was unlimited and Daud is very ambiguously used in his verses.

   هستم ازجام محبت همه دم والہ ومست   اینوان راچه شناسم من داود پرست

   "I am ever inebriated with the cup of love. What should I know of 'this' and that—I who worship Daud ?"

   دل افسردہ کی یابد بگفتن هر کسی گرمی   دمداودي باید که آهن را دهد نرمی

   "How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech of all? Nay, it requires the breath of Daud, which can soften iron."

   His other disciples recited Daud in their *Zikr* in a manner that made it sound like *Wadud* (loving of God). He was therefore greatly harassed by Makhdum ul-Mulk. (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 31-32). Shah Abul Maali resided in Lahore and died there on 16 Rabi I, 1024/15 April, 1615. (*Khazinat ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, p. 150).

2. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, p. 384.
3. Kamal ud-Din Husain b. Ali Waiz Kashifi, celebrated author of *Anwar i-Suhaili* (*d*. 910/1499-1500) wrote two commentaries on the *Quran* : *Jawahir ut-Tafsir fi tuhfat ul-Amir* which he could not complete, and *Mawahib i-aliyah* often called *Tasfir i-Husaini*, a concise commentary composed between 897/1491-92 and 899/1493-94 and dedicated to Mir Ali Shir. (Storey, C. A. : *Persian Literature* ; *A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, London 1927, p. 12).

Shah Abul Maali Qadiri did not allow Shaikh Abdul Haq to stay with him in Lahore or to go on a visit to the tombs of other eminent saints buried in other places in Shergarh,[1] Uchch[2] etc. Shaikh Abdul Haq seems to have visited Lahore sometime in 1023/1614-15. He was experiencing great mental tension which he has himself related without mentioning its genesis. It appears that the Shaikh occasionally found himself greatly moved by ascetic impulses. On a previous occasion in 995H he left for Mecca. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab had prevailed upon him to give up his intention of adopting a secluded life and this time Shah Abul Maali set him about undertaking theological works of a serious nature. Both of them put him on the path of teaching, disseminating knowledge and rendering service to theological literature. Shah Abul Maali went to the extent of saying to him, "Leave immediately for Delhi because Delhi is weeping on account of your separation."[3]

The main aim of all his works was to propagate the superiority of *Shariat* and *Sunnat* and to bring home to the Muslims the importance of Prophet Muhammad and his mission so that the prevalent tendencies of seeking spiritual satisfaction from the teachings of other religions and schools of thought on the part of the Muslims be checked. For this very reason he chose to express himself through the medium of Persian—so popular among the educated Muslims.

Of his works on *Hadis* and biographies of Prophet Muhammad, the most important are *Ashiat ul-Lamaat fi Sharh al-Mishkat*, *Sharh i-Sufar us-Saadat* and *Madarij un-nubuwwah*. *Ashiat ul-Lamaat* is a Persian commentary on *Mishkat al-Masabih* written by Shaikh Wali ud-Din Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Abdullah Khatib Tabrizi, and completed by him on the last day of Ramzan[4] 737/2 May 1337). Abdul Haq commenced his commentary at Delhi on 13 Zilhijja, 1019/26 February, 1611 and completed[5] it on 24 Rabi II, 1025/11 May, 1616. It is divided into four volumes and comprises a valuable introduction which explains some of the technical terms used in the compilation of *Hadis*. An account of fifteen renowned scholars who collected and compiled

1. In Sarkar Duab, Dist. Jalandhar of Lahore province. (*Ain i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p. 154).
2. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, pp. 382-383.
3. *Makatib Wa'r Rasail*, p. 382. اکنون بدهلي بروید که دهلی درفراق شمابزبان حال مي نالد
4. Ethe 2654.
5. Colophon of Habibganj (Aligarh University) Manuscript of *Ashiat al-Lamaat*.

traditions previous to the author of *Mishkat* is also added to the explanation.[1]

When he had nearly finished the first half of the Persian commentary on the *Mishkat*, he came across certain learned discussions on subtle points which could not be adequately explained in Persian; so he commenced an Arabic commentary in preference to the Persian one on 17 Zilhijja, 1019/2 March, 1611. Later on he was obliged to give up the work entirely, and in the meantime he wrote the following works, in addition to the present commentary :

1. More than half of the Persian commentary ;
2. A commentary on *Futuh ul-Ghaib* ;
3. A few treatises on other different subjects.[2]

The Arabic commentary contains philological explanations, grammatical subtleties, problems of *Fiqh*, various chains of one and the same *Hadis*, the principles of inference, and correct pronunciations of the names or titles of the narrators. The author aimed in the main to defend the system of the Hanafi school using *Hadis* as the means. Its introduction is very valuable and forms a separate treatise by itself. The work is entitled, "*Lam'at al-Tanqih ala Mishkat al-Masabin.*"

At-Tariq al-Qawim fi Sharh al-Sirat al-mustaqim or *Sharh i-Sufar us-Saadat* is a commentary on *Sufar us-Saadat*, a collection of authentic traditions relating to the life, character, practices and moral teachings of Prophet Muhammad by Majd ud-Din Muhammad b. Yaqub al Firuzabadi.[3]

The colophon at the end of Bankipur manuscript indicates that the work was completed by Shaikh Abdul Haq[4] on 24 Jamada I, 1016/16 September, 1607. The present work consists of an introduction explaining the technical terms of *Ahadis* and a discussion relating to

1. *Ashiat ul-Lamaat* (Lucknow, 1894), Vol. I, pp. 3-39.
2. Bankipur, Vol. V, Translation II, no. 361.
3. Majd ud-Din Muhammad b. Yaqub al Firuzabadi, the author of the famous Arabic dictionary entitled *al Qamus* was born in Rabi I, 729/January, 1329 at Kazarun near Shiraz and died in the night of 20 Shawwal, 817/2 January, 1415 at Zabid. (Bankipur XIV 1185).
4. Bankipur XIV no. 1186. The transcription and the collation of the copy of manuscript was completed by the author on 27 Jamada II, 1033/16 April, 1624.

the salient features of the subject. A short preface by the author shows that he could not reconcile himself to the slightest deviation from conventional channels. He has criticised Majd ud-Din for giving preference to the view-point of unconventional thinkers over that of eminent masters of *Hadis* and also for relating at places many things contrary to the beliefs of the *Mujtahids*. This, according to him, had given birth to the mischiefs which were farthest from the author's mind. Shaikh Abdul Haq did not approve of Majd ud-Din's rejection of the traditions of doubtful authenticity and therefore contributed a discussion to the original on the canons of judging the traditions, pointing out the lapses of the author of the original in the course of the commentary. He has also given a long list of the sources drawn upon.[1]

Madarij un-nubuwwah is a detailed biography of Prophet Muhammad in five *qisms* (parts) and a *takmilah* (conclusion). Criticising the perverseness of the times which had corrupted the minds of some self-conceited *Darweshes*, he pointed out that none of them recognised the high status of Muhammad. He therefore found it essential to write an account of the achievements of Prophet Muhammad so that the ignorant ones be acquainted with the subtle truth and the thoughtless ones be awakened from the dream of negligence.[2]

He also compiled some short treatises on *Hadis* from the point of view of practical utility. *Ma Sabat bil Sunnah fi Ayyam al Sanah* contains all those *Ahadis* which relate to the peculiarities of different months of the year and reject superstitions and practices associated with them *e.g.* the belief that he who applies antimony to his eyes on the tenth of Muharram will never suffer from inflammation of the eyes, or that he who takes a bath on the tenth of Muharram will fall ill, etc.[3] The present work also appeared in the wake of the controversies among the traditionists and the Sufis about the rites and practices observed in different months.[4]

In the *Takmil ul-iman wa taqwiyat al iqan dar bayan i-aqaid i-Islam*, Shaikh Abdul Haq has avoided the controversial discussions. It is a simple exposition of the articles of faith of a pious believer.[5]

1. *Sharh i-Sufar us-Saadat*, (Nawal Kishore), p. 3.
2. Rieu I, 15a ; Ethe, 2656.
3. *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 48.
4. Bankipur V, Part II, no. 404.
5. The portion relating to the attributes of God, His transcendence, and free Will are translated in *Sources of Indian Tradition* compiled by W. M. Theodore De Bary etc. (New York, 1958), pp. 396-400.

The works of Shaikh Abdul Haq on Sufism seek to explain and popularise the Qadiri discipline as also to reconcile *Shariat* with *Tariqat*. The most popular one of the category is *Miftah i-Futuh ul-Ghaib* or *Sharh i-Futuh ul-Ghaib* completed by him in 1023/1614-15. The *Futuh ul-Ghaib* or *Futuhat ul-Ghaib* is a collection of the ethical maxims and aphorisms of Shaikh Abu Muhammad Muhi ud-Din Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiri order, more popularly known as Ghaus ul-Azam. It was completed by the author's second son Sharif ud-Din Abu Muhammad Abdur Rahman Isa on 15 Safar, 555/6th March, 1160. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi had recommended the study of this work to Shaikh Abdul Haq in Mecca but he could not get a copy of the work there. On his arrival in India he procured the work from a saint of the Qadiri order and studied it thoroughly, but he was hesitant to undertake its Persian translation. Shah Abul Maali however encouraged him to finish the work and the author expeditiously completed the translation.[1]

Another work by the Shaikh, *Maraj ul-Bahrain*, seeks to reconcile different Sufic disciplines, *Fiqh* and *Tasawwuf*, *Shariat* and *Tariqat*. The work was undertaken to create a taste for Sufism in the *Faqihs* and to inspire the Sufis to adhere to the laws of *Shariat*. It severely criticises philosophy[2] and discourages the use of rational thinking in matters relating to faith.[3] Reason he compared to a lamp which helps in finding out the path. A lamp cannot make the path, it can only show it. By the path he meant the one which was fixed earlier and shown to mankind. "If the traditional teachings are made subordinate to reason, all that remains unintelligible to it should be glossed over without relying on interpretations which run counter to dogma. The faith depends on scrupulously following Islam as interpreted from the orthodox point of view.[4]" In the work he has preached a middle course *vis-a-vis* the teachings of Muhi ud-Din ibn Arabi. He neither favoured those who condemned Ibn Arabi nor approved of those who regarded him as a *Qutb*. He warned the people against falling a prey to the ambiguities and obscurities of Ibn Arabi and advised them to follow the path of peace and harmony.[5]

1. *Sharh Futuh ul-Ghaib* (Lucknow 1298/1880-81), p. 421.
2. *Maraj ul-Bahrain* (Rampur Mss.), Wisal 3.
3. *Ibid.*, Wisal 6, 8.
4. *Maraj ul-Bahrain* (Rampur Mss.), f. 6b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 34b.

One of his works which received immense popularity on account of its utility and sound scholarship is *Akhbar ul-Akhyar fi Asrar il-Abrar*. It comprises an account of the Indian saints, who lived from the time of Muin ud-Din Chishti to the close of the tenth century, preceded by a biographical note on Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and followed by a *Khatimah* or *Takmilah* on the author's ancestors and his own life. Its compilation was apparently commenced in 993/1585 and completed before he left for Mecca, but the work of revising and making additions continued till 999/1590-91. It is classified into three sections :

1. Khwaja Muin ud-Din Sijzi, his contemporaries and disciples;
2. Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar, his followers and pupils;
3. Saints from the time of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chiragh i-Dehli down to the author's own times.

In a separate chapter at the end he has given an account of ecstatic *Shaikhs* (*Majazib*) and female saints.

The author has collected his information very carefully from all the reliable sources, treatises, hagiological literature, collections of epistles etc. and has dealt with the different personalities in a most concise and objective manner. The work was brought to the notice of Jahangir and Shaikh Abdul Haq was allowed to pay his respects to the Emperor in the fourteenth year of his reign. Jahangir writes, "Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlawi who belongs to the class of the learned and *Arbab i-Saadat*[1] had the good fortune of paying respects to me. He had written a book comprising an account of the Shaikhs of India. He produced the book before me. He has bestowed very hard labour over it. He has been leading a life of resignation and seclusion in a corner of Delhi since a long time. He is a revered personality and his company is not devoid of (mystic) delight."[2]

Relations between Jahangir and Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi could not, however, remain cordial for long. On the basis of some reports made against Shaikh Abdul Haq and Shaikh Husam ud-Din[3], Jahangir summoned them to Kashmir in 1627 A. D. Shaikh Nur

1. Ulama; *cf.* Khwandamir : *Qanun i-Humayuni* (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 32.
2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, p. 282. English translation of this passage in Rodgers' and Beveridge's translation is confusing and incorrect. [*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (R. & B). Vol. II, p. 111].
3. Dara Shukoh has mentioned him as a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. (*Sakinat ul-Auliya*, Rampur Mss., f. 202b).

ul-Haq, the son of Shaikh Abdul Haq, was earlier exiled to Kabul. A fate similar to that of Nurul Haq was probably in store for them too. When Shaikh Abdul Haq reached Lahore, he visited Miyan Mir and expressed his deep concern over his separation from his family in his old age and the exile of his son to Kabul. Miyan Mir assured him that the Shaikh would leave for his native land without visiting the Emperor and join his family. It so happened that four days after Shaikh Abdul Haq's visit to Miyan Mir, news of the death of Jahangir was received and nature helped him leave with his son for Kabul.[1]

The reason for Jahangir's alienation from the Shaikh, who was by then quite aged, is nowhere given. A later authority traces the origin of this estrangement between the Emperor and the Shaikh to the latter's strained relations with Nur Jahan.[2] A modern scholar thinks her responsible for poisoning the ears of Jahangir against Shaikh Abdul Haq[3], but the motives behind summoning Husam ud-Din remain un-explained. Modern scholars conveniently shift the responsibility for all the calamities befalling the orthodox Sunnis on the shoulders of Nur Jahan. It seems that the activities of Shaikh Abdul Haq, his son, and Shaikh Husam ud-Din for the sake of revivalism of *Shariat*, though restrained, were found detrimental to the cause of the Mughul empire in India by Jahangir. Shaikh Nurul Haq was, therefore, banished forthwith to Kabul where his activities could bring no harm. Shaikh Abdul Haq and Shaikh Husam ud-Din could have been asked to stay in Kashmir or could have been exiled to Kabul. After the death of Shah Jahan, though both of them returned to Delhi, Husam ud-Din was apparently served with an order to leave Delhi and stay at Akbarabad, where he died.[4] Shaikh Abdul Haq was, however, allowed to live in Delhi on account of his old age. Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Amin Qazwini[5] have extolled Shaikh's devotion to the Almighty, his

1. Dara Shukoh : *Sakinat ul-Aulitya*, (Rampur Mss.), ff. 202a-202b.
2. Barkat Ali : *Mirat ul-Haqaiq*, p. 87. A story goes that Shaikh Abdul Haq once refused to oblige Nur Jahan by paying a visit to her at her request on the plea that the *Faqirs* had nothing to do with the kings and queens, and in reply desired her to inform him about the work she wanted him to do, so that he might try to execute it.
3. *Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 149.
4. *Infra*, p. 316.
5. Abdul Hamid Lahori: *Badshah Nama*, Vol.I (Lahore, 1867),p. 342 ; Muhammad Amin b. Abul Hasan Qazwini : *Badshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), p. 863.

learning, his teachings and writing of books and correction of manuscripts which he continued even at the age of ninety in 1047/1637-38. He died on 21 Rabi I, 1052/19 June, 1642 at the ripe old age of ninety-four and was buried near Hauz i-Shamsi.

With Shaikh Abdul Haq's death an epoch of creative scholarship in theological studies, particularly in *Hadis*, came to a close. It had been his immediate and foremost concern to restore the *Shariat* and the *Sunnat* to their pristine purity. His objective was not much different from that of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid *Alf i-Sani*. But the two widely differed in their approach. Shaikh Abdul Haq used polite and persuasive language and adopted a psychological approach. His achievements are therefore positive and tangible while those of Mujaddid negative and damaging. For, Mujaddid's polemics, though they failed to impress his contemporaries, tend to generate not only hatred, mutual distrust and discord among the various sections of the Muslims but also inject communal virus into the body politic of the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NAQSHBANDIS

The Naqshbandi order named after Khwaja Baha ud-Din Naqshband is one of the oldest mystic *Silsilas* that arose in the land of the Turks beyond the Jaxartes. It was known as the *Silsila i-Khwajgan* and developed in an environment of living Buddhist traditions. Khwaja Ahmad, commonly known as Ata of Yasa (a town in Turkistan), who died in 1166, was its earliest well-known[1] saint ; but it was Khwaja Abdul Khaliq of Ghujdawan (a town near Bukhara) son of Abdul Jamil or Abdul Jalil of Ghujdawan, who, profiting by the experiences of his predecessors, brought it more in line with orthodoxy.[2] He taught his disciples to follow strictly the laws of *Shariat*, to devote themselves to the study of *Fiqh* and *Hadis* and to avoid the company of ignorant Sufls. 'No association with kings and nobles and no acceptance of service under Government' were other bits of advice to his disciples. The life of poverty, austerity and unworldliness was greatly emphasised by him. He laid down a very strict code of moral discipline for his followers and even preached celibacy so that religion should receive preference over all other pursuits. The construction of, and dwelling in, *khanqah* were discouraged by him. Though he did not stand for an outright rejection of *Sama*, he cautioned against too much indulgence in it.[3]

The eight[4] popular practices or rules for the Sufis, to which three were added later on, received due popularity through his efforts. Of

1. Ali b. al-Husain al-Waiz al-Kashifi: *Rashhat Ain ul-Hayat* (Lucknow, 1890), pp. 8-9, *cf. Silsila Nama Khwajgan Naqshband*, Blochet, 428.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 18., *Nafhat ul-Uns* (Calcutta), pp. 431-433.
3. *Rashhat Ain ul-Hayat*, p. 20 ; *cf. Zikr i-Abdul Khaliq Ghujda wani* [Leiden Mss. Cod 1051 (2) Warn].
4. (*a*) *Hosh dar dam* (Awareness while breathing) : Not a breath be inhaled or exhaled in the state of forgetfulness of the Divine presence.

   (*b*) *Nazar bar qadam* (Watching the steps). A Sufi, walking in a city or in the wilderness, should be constantly mindful of his footsteps in order that he might be able to restrain his mind from being disturbed, and be in a position to concentrate his attention on the Divine presence.

these *Safar Dar Watan* and *Khilwat Dar Anjuman* later on formed the very core of Naqshbandi discipline. Khwaja Baha ud-Din Muhammad Naqshband, born in Muharram 717, March-April/1317 in a village near Bukhara, however, popularised the Silsila immensely. He was brought up by Muhammad Baba Samasi as a son and taught Sufism by the latter's disciple Baba Kulal.[1] But it was mainly the teachings of Khwaja Abdul Khaliq Ghujdawani that gave him inspiration and the consciousness to confine himself to what was lawful and refrain from all that was unlawful. He vehemently opposed *Bidat* and such acts as were permissible but not obligatory. He incurred the displeasure of the disciples of Baba Samasi by avoiding the *Zikr i-Jahr*[2] and *Sama* prevalent among the Baba's followers. He preferred the principles of *Khilwat Dar Anjuman.* He found it easier to reach *Tauhid* but difficult to acquire *Marifat.* He fearlessly preached his independent views to the utter discomfiture of his fellow Sufis who were reluctant to shake

(c) *Safar dar Watan* (Journey within one's own land): A Sufi should remember that he is making a journey from human to angelic stages and from vice to virtue. Referring to its details in *Awarif ul-Maarif*, Khwaja Abdul Khaliq emphasised the efforts which the Naqshbandis were required to make in obtaining a suitable guide in initial stages.

(d) *Khilwat dar Anjuman* (Ability to enjoy solitude even while in assembly) : Here the aim is to achieve such power of concentration that, while busy in the affairs of the world, one may be able to meditate upon God.

(e) *Yad Kard* (Remembrance) : It relates to the *Zikr* recited orally or in heart which is never to be given up.

(f) *Baz Gasht* (Restraint) : While practising the *Zikr*, the Sufi should stop at short intervals and say, "0 Lord, Thou only art my goal. I renounce the benefits of this world and of the world to come for Thine own sake."

(g) *Nigah Dasht* (Watchfulness) : The Sufi should strive to guard his mind against all other thoughts except that of Almighty.

(h) *Yad Dasht* (Recollection) : To be constantly aware of God's Omnipotence.

(i) *Wuquf i-Zamani* (Temporal pause) : To examine how one has spent one's time.

(j) *Wuquf i-Adadi* (Numbering pause) : It is to recollect the disturbed thought and to determine whether the formula of *Zikr* is repeated as many times as directed by the Preceptor.

(k) *Wuquf i-Qalabi* (Heart Pause) : The heart of one who repeats *zikr* should be aware and conscious of the Almighty.

Rashahat, pp. 24-27 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I (Urdu Translation), p. 86.
cf. Risala i-Hosh Dar Dam, India office (Delhi, Persian 1185).

1. Jami : *Nafhat ul-Uns*, pp. 434-435, 439.
2. *Zikr* which is recited by raising the voice, most often in the company of other Sufis.

off the conventional bondage. He made Sufism dependent on orthodox theology and held that nothing but the traditions of Prophet Muhammad and the practices of his companions could be relied upon. Obedience to *Sunnat* was the *sine qua non* of his teachings. He travelled far and wide preaching his own views and achieved success to such an extent that ultimately the *Silsila* of Khwajgan derived its later nomenclature 'Naqshbandi Silsila' from his name. He died[1] on 3 Rabi I, 791/2 March, 1389.

The *Silsila* was, however, raised to its pinnacle of popularity by Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar who was born in Ramzan 806/March-April, 1404 . He strictly followed the tradition of Khwaja Baha ud-Din Naqshband and, by taking a keen interest in contemporary political affairs, opened new vistas of popularity for the *Silsila.* He claimed that if he were to start enrolling disciples, none of the contemporary Shaikhs would get any disciples. But as he was born for other work, *viz.* to protect the Muslims from oppression, he had to associate himself with the kings and to conquer their spirit. This step enabled him to popularise the *Shariat* and to get the needs of the Muslims fulfilled.[2] In his anxiety to protect the Sunnis from the increasing popularity of Shiism in Khurasan and the neighbouring countries he had to be constantly vigilant and, like Baha ud-Din Naqshband, insisted on strict adherence to only those principles which were obligatory from the point of view of *Shara.* He smelt cowardice in the practice of the acts that were only permissible but not obligatory. Mixing with people in bazaars and in other public places attracted him more and more towards the Almighty. Without attaching undue importance to mystic ecstasies and miracles he emphasised that, if nothing but the fulfilment of a divine wish were left in a devotee's heart, his success in the next world was guaranteed. He was highly impressed with the distinctions of *Shariat*, *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat* as pointed out by Maulana Nizam ud-Din. He elaborated his view-point thus, : "To cite an example, if a man by persistent devotional exercises reaches a stage where lies, so strictly forbidden by *Shariat*, cease to come to his lips, he follows the path of *Shariat*, but if his heart is purged of even the wish to tell a lie, he in that case treads the path of *Tariqat.* With such spiritual eminence he would fortify himself against allowing, voluntarily or involuntarily, any

1. *Nafhat ul-Uns*, pp. 441-444; *Rashahat*, pp. 41-43, 53-57 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, pp. 119-160.
2. *Rashahat*, p. 295.

lie either to flash across his mind or to pass through his lips. This position will entitle him to the stage of *Haqiqat*."[1]

It was on account of his efforts that a major conflict between Sultan Ahmad and his brother Umar Shaikh Mirza, who was assisted by Ahmad's brother in-law, Sultan Mahmud Khan of Tashqand, was averted in 890/1485-86, when the saint was over eighty years of age.[2] He always remained friendly to Umar Shaikh Mirza and it was he who had advised him to name his son Babur. Though Khwaja Ubaidullah died when Babur was about seven years old in 895/1491, the Emperor continued to draw inspiration from his teachings in moments of trouble and when lost in meditation. The Khwaja appeared to him in a dream in 906/1500-1501 and predicted his victory over Samarqand.[3] In November 1528, when laid up with fever, Babur found the remedy in the versification of the *Walidiyyah Risala* of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. He says, "I laid it to heart that if I, going to the soul of his Reverence for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted just as the author of the *Qasidat ul-Burda*[4] was freed from the affliction of paralysis when his poem had been accepted. While last year every time such illness had happened, it had persisted at least a month or 40 days, this year, by God's grace and his Reverence's favour, I was free, except for a little depression (*afsurda*), on Thursday the 29th of month"[5] (12 November i.e. after six days).

Babur remained devoted to the sons of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar also. His eldest son Khwajaki Khwaja protected Bai-sunghar Miran Shahi in the Tarkhan rebellion in[6] 901/1495-96. Babur paid a visit to him in Farkat in 907/1501-1502 where the latter had settled down after leaving Samarqand.[7] His younger son Khwaja Yahya made

1. *Rashahat*, p. 256.
2. *Rashahat*, pp. 295-299. Elias and Ross : *The Tarikh i-Rashidi* (London, 1895), pp. 112-115 ; *Habib us-Siyar* (Bombay), Vol. II, p. 200 ; H. Beveridge ; *The Rashhat i-Ain ul-Hayat* (RAS 1916), p. 70.
3. A. S. Beveridge : *The Babur Nama in English* (London, 1922), p. 132 ; Rizvi : *Mughul Kalin Bharat -Babur* (Aligarh, 1961), p. 535.
4. Al-Busiri's famous poem in praise of the Prophet. (*cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam*).
5. *The Babur Nama in English*, pp. 619-620 ; *Mughul Kalin Bharat-Babur*, p. 284.
6. *The Babur Nama in English*, p. 62.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

strenuous efforts to welcome Babur to Samarqand in 905/1499-1500.[1] He alongwith his two sons was banished by Shaibani Khan when Samarqand passed into the latter's occupation in the next year and they were done to death by a few Uzbegs on their way to Khurasan.[2] Two grandsons of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar are also mentioned by Babur in the *Tuzuk*. Khwaja Abd ush-Shahid, son of Ahrar's fifth son Khwajgan Khwaja, and another grandson, Khwaja Kalan, remained intimate to him throughout his lifetime. Both of them paid a visit to Babur after his conquest of Hindustan and were assigned a seat on the right in the feast arranged by him on 18th December, 1528 to receive the Qizilbash, Uzbeg and Hindu envoys, and were the recipients of valuable gifts.[3] Khwaja Kalan was allowed to depart as he had come probably on a peace-mission as an envoy of the Uzbegs.[4] Babur held him in such great esteem that he sent him a copy of his *Waqai* on 4 March, 1529.[5] Abd ush-Shahid accompanied Babur in his campaign of eastern provinces and was invited to a *majun* party on 5 March, 1529 near Prayag where Babur was staying.[6]

Babur's devotion to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar's descendants went a long way in popularising the Naqshbandi order in India. Some other Naqshbandi saints also repaired to India. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Shihab ud-Din, second son of Khwaja Kalan the eldest son of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, whom Mirza Haidar refers to as Khwaja Nura or Makhdumi Nura, highly venerated by Babur when he was in Kabul, set out for India during the Emperor's life-time but he had passed away before the saint could reach Lahore. Mirza Kamran wished to detain him at Lahore but he preferred to go to Humayun first to offer his condolence on the death of Babur, perhaps to explore the chances of his success at the imperial court. As Humayun on account of his interest in astronomy and leanings towards *Dawat i-Isma* was already attached to Shaikh Phul or Shaikh Bahlul, an eminent saint of the Shattari order, he did not pay considerable attention towards Khwaja Nura. Mirza Haidar laments this neglect on the part of the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 147.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 631-632.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 642.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 652-653.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 653.

Emperor and his followers towards Khwaja, who had a hereditary claim to their veneration, and the Khwaja returned to Lahore in disgust in 943/1536-37, where he was warmly welcomed by Mirza Kamran. He stayed there till[1] 1540.

The situation turned in favour of the Naqshbandis in the early years of Akbar's reign.[2] Mirza Sharaf ud-Din Husain, son of Khwaja Muin and a grandson of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, migrated to India in the first year of Akbar's reign[3] and was raised to the office of *Panj hazari* through the influence of Mahum and Adham Khan. In the fifth year of his reign Akbar conferred upon him the governorship of Ajmer[4] and shortly afterwards married his sister Bakhshi Banu Begam to him.[5] Mirza Sharaf ud-Din Husain's father, Khwaja Muin, also reached India in 970/1562-63 and was warmly received by Akbar[6]; but in the same year Mirza Sharaf ud-Din went into rebellion[7] and passed his life in Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar as a rebel till he died[8] in 988/1580-81. Khwaja Abd ush-Shahid also reached India from Samarqand in 967/1559-60 and was well received by Akbar[9] who gave *pargana* Chamari in the Punjab as a gift to him. But he returned to Samarqand in 982/1574-75 where he died[10] in 984/1576-77. Sultan Khwaja Abdul Azim, popularly known as Sultan Khwaja Naqshbandi son of Khawand Dost, a disciple of Khwaja Abd ush-Shahid, became very intimate with Akbar after his arrival in India. It was he who dissuaded Akbar in 984/1576-77 from proceeding on pilgrimage to Mecca. The Emperor appointed him *Amir Haj* and placed at his disposal huge funds to be expended on charity in Mecca.[11] After his return from Mecca in 986/1578-79, Sultan Khwaja Abdul Azim

1. *Tarikh i-Rashidi*, pp. 395-401.
2. *cf. Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 74. Shaikh Mubarak Nagori is also said to have adopted the Naqshbandi discipline.
3. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-199, 202.
8. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari : *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* (Karachi, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 79-80; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 232-238.
9. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 127.
10. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 379.
11. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 192.

was appointed *Sadr* and was given the rank of 1000.[1] Due to his strong advocacy of Akbar's policy of *Sulh i-Kul* he became the main target of Badauni's scathing criticism. Akbar had such a regard for him that even after the Khwaja's death in 992/1584 the Emperor married his daughter to Prince Daniyal in the beginning of the 33rd year of his reign[2] (March, 1588).

In 1000/1591-92 there came from Hisar in Transoxiana a certain man Abdullah Khan, who was the son of a sister of Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi.[3] He was accompanied by his two brothers, Yadgar and Barkhurdar. For some time he served with Sher Khwaja, a relation of his in the Deccan, and later joined Prince Salim in Lahore and was made one of the *Ahadis*. When the Prince revolted against his father in Allahabad he promoted him to the *mansab* of 1500 and bestowed on him the title of 'Khan'. Since he could not get on with Sharif Khan, he joined Akbar in the 48th year of his reign and received the rank of 1000 and the title of Safdar Khan.[4] His brothers also received suitable assignments. Jahangir, in the first year of his reign, promoted him to the rank of 2500 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar*.[5] He breathed his last on 17 Shawwal, 1054/17 December, 1644 after having a chequered military career as *Amir* for about fifty years.[6]

The Naqshbandis therefore continued to wield considerable influence till the end of Akbar's reign. Some of them, inheriting from their ancestors nothing but a beggar's bowl, rose to the high rank of nobles and some preferred to lead the life of piety and austerity. While some addressed themselves to the task of restoring *Shariat* to its pristine purity, others extended their active support to the liberal and eclectic policy of Akbar.

Khwaja Khawand Mahmud

Most important among those who exercised considerable influence at the end of Akbar's reign from the puritan religious point of view was

1. *Ibid*, p. 263.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 528; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 379-380.
3. Najib un-Nisa, daughter of Mirza Hakim, was married to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi.
4. *Takmila i-Akbar Nama* printed as an appendix to *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 823; *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (English Translation R&B), p. 27.
5. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (R & B), p. 72.
6. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 777-789.

Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi, son of Khwaja Mir Saiyid Sharif who was descended from Khwaja Ala ud-Din Attar[1] (*d.* Rajab 802/March, 1400), an eminent disciple of Khwaja Baha ud-Din Naqshband. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud was a disciple of Khwaja Abu Ishaq Safedki but claimed to have drawn inspiration directly from Khwaja Baha ud-Din Naqshband. At the instance of his father, he reached Bukhara, when only eighteen, to receive education, but under the impulse of mystic leanings he left for Wakhsh at the age of twenty-three in[2] 994/1585-86. When Abdul Momin Khan, son of Abdullah Khan,[3] ascended the throne of Bukhara he left for Kabul and thence to Kashmir where he stayed with its governor, Jamal Beg. He incessantly struggled against the increasing popularity of Shiism there and sought to further the cause of the orthodox Sunni faith. During the last days of Akbar's reign he visited Agra and a number of nobles, including Khan i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, became his disciples. Sultan Salima Begam and Gulrukh Begam were strongly devoted to him. Gulrukh Begam is said to have herself sewn a garment for the Shaikh and recited *Kalima* while taking each stitch.[4] Akbar is also reported to have asked him to recite *fatiha* for his welfare.[5] He left for Kashmir after Jahangir's accession and was present at Lahore when Khusrau paid him a visit and requested to pray for him; but he politely refused to comply with the Prince's wishes, taking the plea that he could only pray for one whose motives were pious.[6] Reaching Kashmir in 1015/1606-7 he dispatched his disciples to Kabul[7] to propagate the spiritual discipline of the Khwajgan and tried to propagate Islam even in Tibet through Mulla Abdul Hasan and an illiterate disciple, Daud Kashmiri.[8] He again left for Agra on 20 Jamada II, 1017/1 Oct. 1608 to help his younger brother Khwaja Aftab, in the crisis relating to his *mansab*. But the enmity of Abdullah Khan got him into hot water even though he had apparently done nothing to offend him; on the contrary, he had paid him a visit when he was marching

1. For his life on aphorisms see *Nafhat ul-Uns*, pp. 445-448; *Rashahat*, pp. 79-88.
2. Muhammad Muin ud-Din son of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud : *Mirat i-Taiyiba* (Riza Library Rampur Mss.), pp. 84-86.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

against Rana Amar Singh. The reasons for their strained relations are not known but the complaint made by Abdullah Khan is of great significance, for it throws considerable light on the religious attitude of Jahangir. Abdullah Khan wrote to Jahangir, "The Khwaja is unduly pressing me to become his *murid* (disciple) even though he knows that I am the Emperor's *murid*." The Emperor deemed it an act of intrusion on the part of the Khwaja and so felt highly offended. Nobles like Khan i-Azam or Khwaja i-Jahan could not dare speak in favour of the Khwaja. Khwaja Abul Hasan *Wazir* was, however, convinced of the innocence of the Khwaja and so promised him his support. To the Emperor's enquiry whether the Khwaja wished to enrol as *murid* all those who were already his own *murid*, the Khwaja replied, "The *Faqir* is also your Majesty's *murid*, for there are two types of *murids i. e. Murid i-Anabati*[1] or *Murid i-Tariqati* and *Murid i-Sharii*. The former are these days rare ; the latter discipleship relates to the obedience of the God's command, 'Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in command among you.' Since your Majesty is the emperor and is in command, I am your Majesty's *murid*." Khwaja Abul Hasan, defending the Khwaja, established Khwaja Khawand Mahmud's innocence in the eyes of the Emperor by proving through circumstantial evidence the fact, that the complaint was lodged when the Khwaja had not even reached Abdullah Khan.[2] The Emperor was satisfied and so he allowed the Khwaja to depart with honour. Jahangir during his first visit to Kashmir[3] not only enquired about Khwaja in Baramula but also evinced a keen interest in his activities. It appears that some restrictions were placed on his anti-Shia and puritan revivalist activities by Jahangir at the end of his reign and so he left for Kabul after taking a vow not to return during the lifetime of Jahangir.[4] In the reign of Shah Jahan he again returned to Kashmir where serious conflict between the Sunnis and Shias was raging. The Khwaja demanded severe retribution on the Shias and their complete suppression. The crisis was staved

1. *Murids* to whom *tauba* is administered.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-185.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 204. Jahangir first visited Kashmir in 1620. (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, R & B) Vol. II, pp. 97-98, 139).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

off by tactful handling of the situation by the governor, and the Khwaja, on his complaint to the Emperor, had to leave Kashmir. He settled down at Lahore, and directed his son Muin ud-Din Khawand to propagate Naqshbandi discipline there. The Khwaja died on 11 Shaban, 1052/4 November, 1642 in Lahore and was buried near Shalamar gardens.[1]

KHWAJA BAQI BILLAH

The other eminent saint through whose influence the Naqshbandi Silsila gained popularity in India was Khwaja Muhammad Baqi who claimed to have drunk deep at the fountain of the teachings of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. He was born in about 971/1563-64 at Kabul.[2] His father Qazi Abd us-Salam Khalji Samarqandi Quraishi was an Alim and a Sufi of fame and had settled in Kabul where he married in a family related to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. Khwaja Baqi Billah was devoted to pious life from his very childhood and spent most of his time in meditation in some secluded quarter. He started his early education under Maulana Sadiq Halwai, an eminent scholar of Samarqand who was staying in Kabul after his return from pilgrimage in 978/1570-71, at the request of Akbar's younger brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. When, after some time, the Maulana left for Transoxiana, Baqi Billah also accompanied him. None of the disciples of Maulana Sadiq was a match to Baqi Billah in intellect. He would explain all the controversial and subtle points of theology with masterly ease, but he could not concentrate on traditional learning for long. He used to visit Sufis and *Darweshes* regularly and would practise devotional exercises of a severe nature, but even all these failed to quench his spiritual yearning.[3]

The quest for spiritual satisfaction turned Baqi Billah's mind towards India, and he reached Lahore. Some of his relations, who held high ranks in the military service and were well-off and resourceful, tried to attract him towards their profession but he did not yield to their persuasions. Meanwhile he had an unsuccessful love affair with a

1. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
2. Muhammad Hashim : *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* (Kanpur, 1890), pp. 127, 5-10 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, pp. 215-216.
3. Muhammad Hashim : *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* (Kanpur, 1890), pp. 127, 5-10; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), pp. 215-216.

beautiful girl. This unhappy episode had a dampening effect upon his spirits and turned him all the more away from worldly life. Study of mystic literature sparked off the love for aseticism in him and he was seen wandering about in the streets and vicinity of Lahore, undergoing untold hardship. He would wade through mud and water in the streets of Lahore and its vicinity in search of eminent mystics, *majzubs* and a perfect saint who could put him on the right path. He seemed rather frantic about his mission when he often visited grave-yards, and deserted places in search of reputed saints.[1] His mother, a pious lady, would remain distressed on account of his constant vigil, restlessness and weak constitution. She used to pray for the fulfilment of her son's spiritual desires. Khwaja Baqi Billah's painstaking quests convinced him that, "The essence of *Suluk* or mystic path lies in toning up one's morals, and if that is achieved there is no use going into the details of *Suluk*." A number of important saints, mostly the Naqshbandis, administered *Tauba* to him and he spent most of his time in *Zikr*, meditation and contemplation.[2]

He, later on, went to Kashmir and was greatly benefited by the company of Shaikh Baba Wali.[3] On account of his influence the Khwaja was convinced of the benefits which he could derive from the Naqshbandi order.[4] After the death of Baba Wali in 1592 he left for Amkana, a

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 7-8.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 216.
3. Baba Wali originally belonged to Khwarizm and reached Kashmir in 999/1590-91 and stayed in the *khanqah* of Amir Kabir Saiyid Ali Hamadani (*d.* 1385 A.D.). People were attracted towards him in large numbers. But he soon courted the wrath of Yadgar, the cousin of Mirza Yusuf, which manifested itself in fatal consequences. He not only took up sides with the imperialists but also actively organised a revolt to counter the rebellious measures of Yadgar against Akbar's officials in 1592. Bitterly offended at this Yadgar resorted to felony and he dismissed his rival by poisoning him in the same year. [*Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 617 ; Khwaja Muhammad Azam Shah : *Tarikh i-Kashmir Azami* (Lahore, 1303H), p. 110; Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat ul-Asfiya*, Vol. II, (Lucknow, 1290H), pp. 337-338]. Some modern scholars have given a religious basis to this movement which is not supported by authentic sources. [Maulana Muhammad Miyan : *Ulmai Hind Ka Shandar Mazi Jadid*, Pt. I (Delhi), p. 433]. It was a revolt organised by such elements as were dissatisfied with revenue administration.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 10-11, Biographical note in *Malfuzat i-Khwaja Abdul Baqi Naqshbandi* (I. O. Delhi, 1058H), ff. 135a-135b.

village in the vicinity of Samarqand, where he became the disciple of Maulana Khwajgi[1], an eminent Naqshbandi saint, and completed the discipline of the Naqshbandi order under his care within three days.[2] It is said that Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar[3] directed him in a dream to pay a visit to the Khwaja and the latter too was informed in a similar vision of Khwaja Baqi Billah's arrival.[4] However his discipleship under Maulana Khwajgi confirmed his formal associations with the Naqshbandi Ahrari Silsila, but Baqi Billah claimed to have depended directly on the teachings of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar and Khwaja Baha ud-Din Naqshband.[5] He was ordered by his preceptor to leave for India again and to preach the principles of the Naqshbandi order there.[6]

On reaching India he stayed in Lahore for some time and then he set out for Delhi where he took up his residence in the Firuzi

1. He was a son and disciple of Maulana Darwesh (*d.* 970/1562), a *Khalifa* of Maulana Muhammad Zahid Wakhshi (*d.* 936/1539), who was one of the principal *Khalifas* of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. It is said that he was held in great reverence by Abdullah Khan Uzbek of Turan. Baqi Muhammad Khan is also said to have defeated Pir Muhammad Khan, who possessed a large army, on account of the blessings of the saint. He died at the ripe old age of ninety years in 1008/1599-1600. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, (Urdu Translation) pp., 210-213.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 13; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I (Urdu Translation), p. 220.
3. Emphasising his indebtedness to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, Khwaja Baqi Billah would remark that Khwaja always helped him in all circumstances. (*Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, p. 214).
4. A number of anecdotes are recounted in contemporary hagiological literature of the Naqshbandi saints which tell how through divine inspiration Maulana Khwajgi was able to know about the arrival of Baqi Billah and how he welcomed him and kept in a secluded place devoted to the Almighty in accordance with the Naqshbandi discipline and made him perfect within three days. It is said that Maulana Khwajgi would remark that Khwaja Baqi Billah had brought the oil and wick with him and it was only left to him to light the lamp. This aroused the jealousy of the senior disciples of Maulana Khwajgi but he silenced them all with the remark that Baqi Billah had already completed his work prior to his coming to him and he had only rectified his affairs under him. The guide is also said to have made him agree that he would intercede for him if he was admitted to the proximity of the Almighty. [*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*. pp.-12; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, (Urdu Translation), p. 220.]
5. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 11.
6. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 14-32 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, pp. 220-231 ; Ali Akbar Ardistani : *Majma ul-Auliya* (Ethe 645), f. 432b.

fort and resided there till his death on Saturday the 25 Jamada II, 1012/30 November, 1603 at the age of forty years.[1]

He was not spared by illness to exercise his influence for more than three to four years at Delhi and generally remained sick during the last two or three years. Right faith, obedience to *Shariat*, sincerity of purpose and constant meditation on the Almighty were regarded by him as the highest bliss. He attached little importance to ecstasy and other mystical experiences.

Like most of the Sufis of the Naqshbandi order he laid great stress on *Shariat*. He has said, "One of the following things helps the Sufis in guiding and educating the people : divine inspiration, divine ordinances or compassion for the people. When they find people troubled and afflicted due to the want of proper guidance, they should, motivated by compassion, try to rescue them from torture. Feelings of compassion should inspire Sufis to treat the propagation of *Shariat* as obligatory and through their teachings they should persuade the people to look after the protection and furtherance of *Shariat*, *i.e.* to the dissemination of the knowledge of *Fiqh* and *Hadis* and translating them into action."[2] He declared, "Human beings have been ordained to follow the *Shariat* and not the *Haqaiq* and *Maarif*. The Prophet never required the people to follow the *Maarif* of the Sufis but always preached the *Shariat*. The highest form of blessing for a man lies in ungrudging obedience to Prophet Muhammad and his companions."[3] Discoursing on the progress attainable after death, he said, "Shaikh Ibn Arabi has remarked that if a devotee, who treads the path to the Almighty with unsullied motives and unflinching faith, and who properly fulfils the obligations of the *Shariat*, fails to attain to the bliss and ecstasy yearned by the Sufis, during his life time, they are bestowed upon him after his death." He after a little meditation added to this aphorism : "A devotee should consider the right type of faith, the fulfilment of the obligations to the *Shariat* and constant

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 14, 32 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 221 ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 432a-434b ; Abdus Samad b. Afzal Muhammad : *Akhbar ul-Asfiya* (Aligarh University Mss); Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani : *Tabaqat i-Shah Jahani* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Mss).
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 57; *Kalimat i-Taiyibat* (Mss.), ff. 9a-9b.
3. Baqi Billah : *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 8a.

attention towards the Almighty, as the greatest of all the blessings on this earth, for no mystic grace and ecstasy can compete with these."[1]

However, if he found someone violating the principles of the *Shara*, he never reprimanded and pressed him to follow the right path but he would bring home the lawful act to him through metaphors and parables. According to him, it was the duty of the Ulama and the *Muhtasibs* to enforce the *Shariat* through compulsion. No one could have the courage to insult any Muslim in his presence, and back-biting was out of question.[2] To discourage this tendency he would start praising in advance the man intended to be made the target of back-biting. To someone who complained to him that his followers did not bear any hardship in prayers and devotion, he retorted that they were helpless for he was himself blessed with eminence without much difficulty.[3] He personally observed the laws of *Shariat* meticulously and did not allow food obtained from doubtful sources to be cooked for himself. His mother therefore herself cooked food for him. He did not indulge in such acts as were permitted by the *Shara* but were not obligatory.[4]

He shunned publicity, tried to conceal his spiritual attainments and led a secluded life.[5] He was, however, opposed to inactivity. He asserted, "*Tawakkul* does not mean sitting idle to the utter neglect of one's own affairs and resources, for that is immoral. People should engage themselves in pursuits as permitted by the *Shara* *viz.* copying out the books etc. They should not abandon the means, for the means were like a door. God has provided the door for the attainment of this goal. If someone closes the door and seeks entrance above it or through some unusual passage, it would amount to showing bad manners, for he has chosen not to make a proper use of the door created by Him. It would be the height of folly if we were to close what has been opened by Him."[6]

1. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 11a; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 58.
2. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 21a.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 22, 24.
4. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 225. He was highly inflamed when a Hindu physician was brought for his treatment at his death bed and could be comforted only when it was reported that he was brought at the instance of his mother. (*Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 19b).
5. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Part I, p. 222.
6. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 54.

He was no 'miracle monger'. He differentiated between *Walayat* and *Wilayat*. "*Walayat*", he explained, "is that nearness to the Almighty which a devotee acquires while *Wilayat* is that perfection which is a cause of popularity amongst people. People in general are impressed only by that. This is related to *takwin* (genesis). Miracles and supernatural powers belong to *Wilayat*." One from amongst the audience questioned about the source of the blessings which were received by the devotees. He answered, "They emanate from *Walayat* ;" and added, "of the two, *Walayat* and *Wilayat* some have acquired only one while a few others have acquired both in ample measure. It also happens that out of the two, one acquires either of the two in greater measure. The Naqshbandi saints possessed more of the *Walayat* than *Wilayat*. If the saint possessing *Wilayat* passes away, he leaves it behind for some of his loyal disciples, but the saint who possesses *Walayat* invariably carries it with him."[1]

Nor did he rule out the possibility of eminent saints committing sins, but said, "Even the casual commission of a sin by a saint should not lead to the presumption that the saint is no longer to be regarded as an eminent one. On the other hand, his relative position in the realm of spiritualism should be studied and considered."[2] He conceded that the saints on some occasions wrongly interpreted the utterances of each other, but he was not prepared to believe that they erred in understanding the real matter. He rather asserted that on fundamentals they were unanimous. "The cause of the error" he said, "may be ascribed to their shaky expression or to a disparity in the measure of perfection in regard to mystic state of different saints. One examines the mystic state of the other in accordance with his own achievements and begins to accuse him for having committed mistakes." He illustrated his point of view with the controversy of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* as propounded by Shaikh Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi and *Wahdat i-Shuhud* as held by Shaikh Ala ud-daula Simnani. Like all other eminent saints he also believed that the criticisms of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula were superficial, and so he generally supported the point of view of Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi. But it seems that in the closing years of his life he tended to lean towards orthodoxy. A week before his death, he is said to have remarked, "*Tauhid* is a narrow lane while the wide road is another

1. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 61.

one."[1] This does not however mean a condemnation of *Tauhid i-Wujudi*, but the remark seeks to emphasise the dangers associated with it. Practice of *Tauhid i-Wujudi* within the frame-work of the *Shariat* was the favourite doctrine of a large number of Sufis in India and it was to this school that Khwaja Baqi Billah, his sons and some other disciples adhered.

Khwaja Baqi Billah was extremely courteous and highly forbearing. A story goes that on one occasion he put up with the uncharitable remarks, about his dress and manners, of an ignorant *Faqih*, himself a defaulter. in the observance of the laws of *Shariat*, without giving way to anger ; he contented himself with saying, "You are a peculiar specimen of humanity having no duplicate. I have yet to meet a man like you. It would be desirable to keep you in my company." The *Faqih* failed to grasp the import of the Khwaja's sarcasm and persisted in his critical utterances even with greater intensity for a long time, though the Khwaja tried to humour him with all his humility and without showing any bad temper or displeasure. Ultimately the Khwaja silenced him by referring to the relevant works of *Fiqh* and the *Faqih* was seen no more.[2] He was so considerate to other human beings that once during a famine in Lahore he did not take food for several days out of sympathy for the hardships which the people were suffering. He would distribute his food to the needy and the poor.[3] He never talked unnecessarily and his doors would, however, always remain open for the poor and the indigents.[4]

It was his usual practice not to enrol any disciple; rather he would advise them to find out some other suitable guide. He would even go to the extent of asking them to report to him if any of them came across a perfect guide.[5] Though he was shy of, rather allergic to, every kind of publicity, and always preferred to live in seclusion, still his piety and learning drew towards him some important disciples from every walk of life. Shaikh Farid Bukhari appears to have come in his contact after his return to Agra with Emperor Akbar from the Deccan

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 43. Mujaddid has quoted Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi as his authority for the above statement.

توحید گرچه ایست تنگ شاهرا دیگراست

2. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 22b ; *cf.* Khwaja Baqi Billah's humility towards an unrestrained *Faqir* who had been ceaselessly abusing him at Khwaja Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki's tomb. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 23).
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 20 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 223.
4. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, p. 222.
5. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 16.

campaign early in 1010/1601. It was about the end of 1601 that Lahore routes were entrusted to Shaikh Farid Bukhari with a view to checking the levy of unauthorised dues by avaricious officials.[1] It seems that in connection with the visits to Lahore and Delhi, he came in close contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah. The small collection of Khwaja Baqi Billah's letters contains several letters addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari. This accounted for the existence of a common belief among the people that the popularity of Khwaja Baqi Billah depended upon Shaikh Farid. To those who criticised him for paying undue consideration towards Shaikh Farid, Baqi Billah's reply was that he was not in the least shy of his indebtedness to Shaikh Farid and that he had certainly no reason, supported by or based on *Shara*, to sever his connections with him.[2] The benefits which Khwaja Baqi Billah and his descendants derived from Shaikh Farid were acknowledged by Mujaddid also.[3] According to *Gulzar i-Abrar* all the expenses of Baqi Billah were defrayed by Shaikh Farid Bukhari.[4]

Miran Sadr i-Jahan approached Khwaja Baqi Billah with the request to accept him as his disciple but the Khwaja on account of his ill health and indisposition, could train Sadr i-Jahan only in the *Zikr* and recommended him to Mujaddid for instructions in *Muraqiba* (meditation).[5] Abdur Rahim Khan i-Khanan is also said to have become attracted to the Khwaja though he was never able to pay a visit to him. It is said that once he was informed of the fact that the Khwaja and some of his disciples intended to go on pilgrimage. Khan i-Khanan accordingly sent a lac of rupees to cover the travelling expenses of the Khwaja and his disciples ; but the Khwaja declined saying he was not in favour of making the pilgrimage on the strength of money collected from Muslims.[6]

Some other nobles were also devoted to him and used to send him money for the expenses of his *khanqah* and for distribution amongst the poor and deserving ones. Baqi Billah, despite his detachment from the worldly affairs had assumed this responsibility on account of his affection towards them. He would not permit any worldly conversation

1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 802.
2. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 24b.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 46,54.
4. Ghausi Shattari : *Gulzar i-Abrar*, f. 305b.
5. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Baqi Billah*, (Personal collection of the author), f. 8a.
6. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 24-25.

to creep into his assemblies unless it pertained to the well being of his destitute followers. He, however, did not desire anything for his own self or for his other important disciples and remained contented with his lot of poverty, asceticism and resignation. The offers of his wealthy disciples, keen to make provisions for the saints of his *khanqah*, were not generally accepted for those who had obtained high spiritual status but were accepted for the lesser fry.[1] It appears that the distribution of charities to the needy and the destitute of Delhi and Sirhind was officially entrusted to him.[2]

The success which Khwaja Baqi Billah gained within a short period of three or four years was regarded as one of his greatest miracles. Due to his influence, the Ahrari discipline of Naqshbandi order became very popular. The main reason for his astounding success lay in the popularity which this branch of the Naqshbandi order had already gained under the Mughul Emperors and in his own life of poverty, resignation and humane approach to the problems of the Muslims.

Disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah

Born at Qunduz in[3] 977/1569-70, Husam ud-Din Ahmad, an eminent disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah, was the son of Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, who had migrated from his native land to India in 982/1574[4] and was granted the title of Qazi Khan and later of Ghazi Khan by the Emperor, Akbar. He also wrote some standard works on scholastic theology and Sufism. According to Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Ghazi Khan was the first to suggest the performance of the ceremony of *Sijda* before the Emperor.[5] Khwaja Husam ud-Din had

1. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 19 and 20.
3. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 270.
4. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 108-109.
5. *Muntakhab ul-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 153-154. Mulla Alim of Kabul (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 270-272), who nurtured a strange sense of envy against Qazi Nizam, used to say regretfully, "Alas, that I was not the inventor of this ordinance." He died on 4 Amardad (about 15 July, 1584) in Awadh (Faizabad) at the age of seventy. Abul Fazl says, "To the sword he added the high dignity of the pen. Though stupid in conventional learning, yet by the blessing of his discipleship of the world's lord he, in company with the illuminate sages (*danishwaran i-ishq*) and the pure Sufis, performed his devotions (to Akbar) . . He always had a weeping eye (*chashm i-giryan*) and a burning heart." [H. Beveridge: *The Akbar Nama* of Abul Fazl, Vol. III (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 655; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 872-879].

attained to the rank of 1000 and was attached with Abdur Rahim Khan i-Khanan in the Deccan, but he became so much enamoured of the ascetic way of life that neither the *mansab* nor his matrimonial relations with the sister of Shaikh Abul Fazl—the most important grandee of Akbar's reign—and the persuasions of Khan i-Khanan could restrain him from abandoning worldly pursuits and adopting the calling of a Shaikh. He told the Khan i-Khanan, "A desire to forsake the world has taken possession of my soul. If you prevent me , I shall become a lunatic. Write to His Majesty and send me to Delhi in order that I may spend the rest of my life at the shrine of Sultan ul-Mashaikh." Next he started wandering in the streets and bazaars, and, stripping himself naked, besmeared his body with mud. When the incident was reported to the Emperor, he was allowed to retire to Delhi.[1] His wife also gave away to *Darweshes* all cash and property that she possessed and remained devoted to her husband throughout her life.

A number of anecdotes to the effect that Shaikh Abul Fazl restrained him from leading the life of a Sufi are recorded in Naqshbandi *Tazkiras.* The authors of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* and *Hazrat ul-Quds* relate that Shaikh Abul Fazl harassed Husam ud-Din to the extent that the latter had to seek the protection of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who predicted that Abul Fazl's influence would shortly come to a close; subsequently the news of the death of Shaikh Abul Fazl was received.[2] Shaikh Abul Fazl was deputed to the Deccan in January 1599 where he remained till he was killed on Rabi I, 1011/22 August, 1602 while on his way back to Agra. The story of the harassment of Khwaja Husam ud-Din by Shaikh Abul Fazl and the blessings of Baqi Billah, therefore, holds no water.

Subsequent to his first contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah, Husam ud-Din Ahmad, according to the Naqshbandi sources, was not enrolled as a disciple but, as was the practice with the Khwaja, was asked to find some other suitable guide. This did not satisfy Husam ud-Din Ahmad ; so he took to wandering. After spending some period in Agra, he again repaired to Delhi and was admitted by Baqi Billah to the fold of his disciples.[3]

1. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari : *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin,* Vol. I (Karachi, 1961), pp.242-243; *Maasir ul-Umara,* Vol. II, pp. 878-879 ; Vol. III, pp. 323-324 ; English Translation by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Vol. I, pp. 586-587, 649-650.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat,* p. 79; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 271.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat,* p. 16.

He was profoundly devoted to his preceptor and served him very loyally at his death-bed. He also brought up and educated the two sons of his preceptor, Khwaja Ubaidullah and Khwaja Abdullah, both of whom were born, in 1010/1601-2, of different mothers. He preferred an ascetic life and did not generally mix with people ; but if they would approach him to intercede on their behalf with some noble or the other he would recommend them to the authorities concerned. He was not contemptuous of the nobles and the rich.[1]

In the controversy which arose with the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah regarding the spiritual succession of the Khwaja, he though played the role of a peace-maker yet always remained a partisan of Shaikh Alahdad.[2] His indifference towards paying any serious attention to the teachings of Mujaddid, his following in the footsteps of Baqi Billah along with Shaikh Alahdad, and their reconciling themselves to the popular practice of *sama* prevalent amongst other Sufis of Delhi are facts borne out in the works of Khwaja Abdullah and Ubaidullah and the letters of Mujaddid to Khwaja Husam ud-Din and Abdullah and Ubaidullah.[3] Khwaja Husam ud-Din for some time avoided writing letters to Mujaddid but the latter continued conveying his spiritual attainments to him.[4] Khwaja Husam ud-Din's entrusting the education of Abdullah, the son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, to Muhammad Qulich afforded no satisfaction to Mujaddid as he feared that Muhammad Qulich might impose on Abdullah's mind his own venomous thoughts which were opposed to those of Mujaddid.[5] However, they could not remain unaffected with the traditions of his father and the pantheistic trends of the times and Mujaddid considered it essential to write a long letter to them, which may be regarded as an

1 It is said that someone amongst his audience once complained that the contemporary nobles and rich people did not pay proper respect to the saints like their predecessors He replied, "This should also be treated as part of the divine blessing to the contemporary saints ; for the saints in the past shunned the company of the nobles and rich people even though they would anxiously yearn for the saints. Now-a-days if the nobles and rich people choose to contact them, the Sufis are bound to change their ways and manners. The coldness of the nobles towards the saints is therefore a boon to them." (*Hazrat ul-Quds*: Urdu Translation, p. 274).

2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 32.

3. *Ibid.*, Letter nos. 207, 216, 229, 266.

4. *Ibid.*, Letter nos. 207, 216.

5. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 229.

independent treatise in its own right and a concise account of Sunni beliefs comprising twenty one points.[1] Mujaddid referred to this correspondence in a letter to Khwaja Husam ud-Din, bitterly criticising him for permitting innovations relating to *sama*. He informed him, "I hold that innovations in the *Tariqat* are as bad as they are in religion, for they lead to the closure of the doors of the divine bliss."[2] By innovations he meant *sama*, indulged in by the sons of Baqi Billah, and the *sama* assemblies organised by them on Friday eves, which were joined by other disciples of Baqi Billah too. Mujaddid had written to them, "It is highly amazing that the members of other *Silsilas* indulge in this act (*sama*) on the pretext of following in the footsteps of their *Pirs*. They seek to avert the evil consequences flowing from its illegality through the traditions of their *Pirs* little realising that they do no justice through it. What pretext will you people find for practising this innovation ? It is illegal not only from the point of view of *Shara* but is also against the traditions of your *Pirs*. Neither the followers of the *Shariat* approve of it nor do the followers of the *Tariqat*. Even if the *Shara* does not put the seal of illegality on it, an innovation in the *Tariqat* is detestable. This all the more enhances its illegality from the point of view of the *Shara*. I am sure that Mirza Jeo (Khwaja Husam ud-Din) must be equally dissatisfied with it even though he might not have openly stopped you in consideration of your position nor might have stopped other Sufis from associating themselves with these assemblies. Since this Faqir will not be able to reach there in the near future he has jotted down the above few lines for your guidance in order that you should learn this lesson from beginning to end in presence of Mirza Jeo." The letter failed to produce any effect worth mentioning and *sama* with its different forms formed the main subject matter of several subsequent letters. Mujaddid kept trying to bring home to Khwaja Husam ud-Din the advisability of strongly protecting the *Tariqat* from extraneous influences and undesirable practices.[3] Obsessed with strong feelings of despondency, Mujaddid had to write to Khwaja Husam ud-Din, "Since the practices, opposed to the tradition of this *Tariqat*, take place in Firuzabad which is the asylum and place of refuge for we the *Faqirs* and a model for the disciples, it is a matter

1. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 266.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 267.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 266.

of great anxiety for us. The sons of the Master should protect the traditions of their revered father. The sons of Khwaja Ahrar, after the death of their father, were the protectors of the original form of their father's mystic path and they jealously guarded it against any modification at the hands of those who sought to do so, did not matter even if they had to fight stubbornly for it. You might have heard this. . . you should look into the matter with a sense of equity. Had our Master been alive by now, could he have approved of these assemblies and gatherings? The *Faqir* is certain that he could never have seen eye to eye with them, rather must have expressed his resentment. The *Faqir* is only concerned with conveying the correct teachings. It matters little whether you accept it or not. He cannot quarrel with you. If the sons of the Master and the Sufis of that place do not give up their line of action, disappointment in their companionship is the *Faqir's* lot."[1] Even this strong letter of protest appears to have hardly cut any ice, for, in another letter of Volume II, Mujaddid bitterly complains of the attitude of Khwaja Husam ud-Din, sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah and Shaikh Alahdad.[2] The Firuzabadi or Delhi branch of the Naqshbandis thus continued to follow the principles of *Tauhid i-Wujudi* under the fostering care of Khwaja Husam ud-Din and Alahdad. They went on pressing their own interpretation in regard to the teachings of Khwaja Baqi Billah and reconciled the rigid principles of the Master with the eclectic trends of the time, keeping of course a stronger grip over the *Shariat* as compared with other *Silsilas*.

However, Mujaddid and Khwaja Husam ud-Din appear to have ultimately clung to their respective view-points, though Mujaddid did not give up his efforts to convert him to his philosophy[3] but with the lapse of time the bitterness too had softened. Since Khwaja Husam ud-Din, like Shaikh Abdul Haq, had strong leanings towards the revivalism of orthodoxy, he sympathised with Mujaddid and prayed for his success.[4] He remained worried due to the imprisonment of Mujaddid and consequently wrote several letters to him enquiring of his welfare.[5] Towards the end of his life he wished to migrate to Mecca and settle down there permanently with his family, but Mujaddid

1. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 273.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 26.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 72.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 83, Khwaja Husam ud-Din's letter to Khwaja Taj ud-Din.
5. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 72 ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 84-85.

discouraged him from taking his family with him.[1] The intended pilgrimage could not however be carried out. Towards the close of Jahangir's reign he had to pass his days in very restrained circumstances as Jahangir never tolerated the activities of the saints and Alims which he considered subversive. He was summoned by the Emperor to Kashmir alongwith Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi,[2] but, to their good luck, the storm gathering round them subsided due to the death of Jahangir and he returned to Delhi. It seems that Shahjahan too did not allow him to live in Delhi and he had to shift to Agra where he died on/Safar, 1043/7 August, 1633 and was buried there ; but later on his earthly remains were taken to Delhi and consigned to the grave near the tomb of his preceptor.[3]

Shaikh Taj ud-Din, another eminent disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah, hailed from Sambhal and was formerly a disciple of Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh, the *Khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ali Qiwam of Jaunpur. Shaikh Taj ud-Din's first contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah dated back to the time when the latter, during his first visit to India, reached Sambhal in the quest of an eminent saint. Shaikh Taj ud-Din was highly impressed with the Khwaja. When Khwaja Baqi Billah again came back to Delhi from Transoxiana, Shaikh Ilah Baksh had breathed his last. Shaikh Taj ud-Din reached Delhi and became one of the most intimate companions of the Khwaja. He was the first to be permitted by the Khwaja to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandi order and was allowed to go to Sambhal and popularise the Naqshbandi discipline there.[4] He was advised by his preceptor to initiate the disciples exclusively in the Naqshbandi Silsila and to scrupulously avoid the disciplines of other orders.[5]

At Sambhal, Taj ud-Din came in conflict with a *majzub* named Abu Bakr, who in the former's eyes had gone astray from the path of righteousness. To bring him back to the right path, the Shaikh resorted to harsh dealings. This not only accounted for a setback in his popularity with the local people but also earned for him a severe reprimand from his preceptor, who could not approve of such corrective measures. He was cautioned against any forthright condemnation of the

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter nos. 40, 115.
2. Dara Shukoh : *Sakinat ul-Auliya* (Rampur Mss.), ff. 202a-202b ; *Supra*, p. 283.
3. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, (Urdu Translation), p. 275 ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 86 ; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 824.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 70-71.
5. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Baqi Billah*, f. 4a.

lapses and mistakes on the part of the people ; and to retrieve his prestige he was advised by his preceptor to be more patient and tolerant and to view the shortcomings of the people sympathetically.[1]

After the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah, Shaikh Taj ud-Din along with Shaikh Alahdad struggled for some time to obtain supreme spiritual position as successor of the Khwaja but, faring no better, he soon abandoned his efforts and sought contentment in his own lot. He is said to have not only written letters of regret to Mujaddid but also to have publicly apologised, when Mujaddid revisited Delhi on the occasion of the first death anniversary of Khwaja Baqi Billah.[2] However, he did not prefer to stay at any particular place and so, after wandering about different places in India and Kashmir, went on pilgrimage. In Mecca one Shaikh Muhammad Ilan, who was reputed for his piety, learning, and asceticism and was attracted by the Naqshbandi Silsila, became his disciple. There he translated Kashifi's *Rashahat i-Ain ul-Hayat,* from Persian to Arabic,[3] in order to popularise the teachings of Naqshbandi order among the Arabic speaking people. After the death of Shaikh Muhammad Ilan in 1031/1621-22, he again repaired to India[4] but left for Iraq and Arabia very shortly and was seen in Mecca in 1037/1627-28 . He translated some other treatises written by the saints of the Naqshbandi order from Persian into Arabic and wrote a treatise on the justification of the practices of the Sufis[5] which were subjected to a strong criticism there.[6]

He purchased a plot of land in 1049/1639-40 at the age of ninety near the Kaba and lived a secluded life there.[7] He died at the ripe old age of ninety years on 22 Rabi I, 1052/20 June, 1642 in Mecca.[8]

1. *Ibid.*, f.17a ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 73-74.
2. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II (Riza Library Rampur Mss.)
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 76.
4. Mujaddid also wrote to him after his arrival in India to pay a visit to him in Sirhind. As a matter of fact he was anxious to obtain first hand informations regarding Mecca. (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*), Vol. I, Letter no. 263.
5. *Piri Muridi.*
6. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 77.
7. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, pp. 268-269. He is said to have been very popular in Mecca. (Shah Wali ullah : *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 19).
8. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 270.

Shaikh Alahdad was one of the very old companions of Khwaja Baqi Billah. He had come in contact with the Khwaja when the latter was staying in Lahore during his first visit to India. When he decided to go to Transoxiana, Shaikh Alahdad did not accompany him but Khwaja Baqi Billah entrusted the care of his associates to him.

After the Khwaja's return to Lahore he began to supervise the affairs of the Khwaja's *khanqah* earnestly. On account of his long association with Khwaja Baqi Billah and the services rendered by him to his preceptor, as also the respect he was held in, it was but natural for him to consider himself his successor. His claims were supported by Khwaja Husam ud-Din too, but Mujaddid did not accept them. In reference to Khwaja Husam ud-Din's letter that Baqi Billah had entrusted his disciples of Delhi to Shaikh Alahdad's care, he wrote to him, "Your words require clarification. If 'entrusting' means serving the disciples, I have nothing to comment against it ; but if it involves acquiring the status of a Shaikh, I strongly disapprove of the stand. During my last visit to the Khwaja, he had asked me to direct Shaikh Alahdad to keep his disciples engaged on his behalf in religious exercises and to report their 'mystic states' to him. The Khwaja had made this arrangement in view of his serious indisposition which had prevented him from calling them to his presence, keeping them engaged in ascetic exercises and acquainting himself with their mystic progress. I was hesitant even to yield to this. To impart instruction in this way falls within the scope of the duties of an ambassador, especially so when it is imparted on account of certain specific needs. This performance of the duties of the ambassador remained confined to the lifetime of our Preceptor. Since the Preceptor is no more, the act of keeping the disciples devoted to ascetic exercises and of enquiring their 'mystic states' amounts to the encroachment upon the rights of others." Mujaddid clearly brought home to Husam ud-Din, that, as Shaikh Alahdad was imperfectly acquainted with the high spiritual attainments of Khwaja Baqi Billah, he, by virtue of the authority vested in him by his Preceptor, could deprive Alahdad of all the accomplishments the latter had acquired through his Preceptor.[1]

Shaikh Alahdad persisted in his open hostility towards Mujaddid for some time ; but subsequently a sort of 'patch up' was effected

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 32.

through the good offices of Khwaja Husam ud-Din though Mujaddid was scarcely satisfied with Alahdad's alleged expressions of regret. He insisted on a complete change in his attitude and behaviour but Alahdad never came around to this. He alongwith Khwaja Husam ud-Din and the sons of Baqi Billah, continued to follow the teachings of the Master independently and Mujaddid could do nothing but taunt him about his claim to be a *Pir Parast.*[1] He died in Ramzan, 1049/ December 1639-January, 1640.[2]

1. Devoted to his *Pir.* (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. II, Letter no. 26).
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat,* pp. 85-88 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), Vol. I, pp. 275-276 ; Vol. II (Rampur Mss).

CHAPTER SIX

THE REVIVALIST EFFORTS OF MUJADDID ALF I-SANI

Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi, popularly known as Mujaddid Alf i-Sani, the most eminent of Khwaja Baqi Billah's disciples, was the son of Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Kabuli Naqshbandi and was born on 14 Shawwal, 971/26 May, 1564 in Sirhind.[1] He traced his descent back to the second Caliph Umar b. Khattab (634-644 A.D.) who is also known as Faruq[2], and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi has repeatedly mentioned this descent in connection with his frank utterances in favour of orthodoxy and fierce denunciations of heresy and infidelity.[3] One of his ancestors Shaikh Shihab ud-Din entitled Farrukh Shah Kabuli was said to have been an eminent noble and *Wazir* of the Sultans of Kabul.[4]

Shaikh Abdul Ahad's keen interest for Sufism in his youth prompted him to seek the guidance of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh[5] and to

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 127 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Urdu Translation), p. 9; *Majma ul-Auliya*, ff. 434b ; Muhammad Baqa : *Mirat i-Jahan Numa*, p. 592.
2. Surname of Umar (as discriminating between truth and falsehood at an early stage of Islam, or as making orthodoxy distinct from *i.e.* triumphant over, infidelity).
3. *Rag i-Faruqi.* (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, no. 100 ; II, no. 15).
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 88. Mulla Badr ud-Din has given the following genealogical table. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, son of Shaikh Abdul Ahad, son of Shaikh Zain ul-Abidin, son of Shaikh Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Muhammad, son of Shaikh Habibullah, son of Imam Rafi ud-Din, son of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din, son of Shaikh Sulaiman, son of Shaikh Yusuf, son of Shaikh Ishaq, son of Shaikh Abdullah, son of Shaikh Shuaib, son of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh Yusuf, son of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din entitled Farrukh Shah Kabuli. (*Hazrat ul-Quds*, Part II, ff. 2a-2b). Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj i-Shakar the famous Chishti saint (*d.* Muharram, 664/October, 1265 A.D.) also belonged to this line. According to the author of *Siyar ul-Auliya* and other later authorities Farrukh Shah was one of the rulers of Kabul. (Amir Khurd : *Siyar ul-Auliya*, p. 58).
5. Shaikh Abdul Quddus was the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad, son of Shaikh Arif, son of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq Rudaulawi. After spending about thirty-five years of his life in Rudauli (Barabanki district, U. P.) he migrated to Shahabad near Delhi in 896/1491. Afterwards he left for Gangoh (23 miles south-west of Saharanpur in U. P.) in about 1526 and died there at a ripe old age in 944/1536 or 945/1537. Among his works *Anwar ul-Uyun fi Asrar il-maknun*, being a collection of the anecdotes of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq Rudaulawi *Lataif i-Quddusi*, and the collection of his letters *Maktubat i-Abdul Quddus* or *Maktubat*

request him to enrol him as his disciple but the Shaikh did not agree and bade him to first acquire perfect knowledge of *Shariat* and theology. Thereupon Shaikh Abdul Ahad submitted : "Since you have already reached a very old age, I am afraid I may not be fortunate enough to find you alive on my return after completing the suggested course. So I beg to be enrolled before I leave." The Shaikh told him, "You can in that contingency become the disciple of my son Rukn ud-Din."[1]

No other alternative being left to him, Shaikh Abdul Ahad had to complete the traditional course of Sunni theology, and later set out on his itinerancy. During his travels he came across a number of Alims and Sufis. At Rohtas he met Shaikh Alahdad, an aged saint, and Maulana Muhammad b. Fakhr, an eminent Alim who had written explanatory notes in the works of Qazi Shihab ud-Din Daulatabadi.[2]

In Jaunpur he met Saiyid Ali Qiwam, a Chishti saint who belonged to the line of the disciples of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh i-Dehli. Saiyid Ali Qiwam belonged to that school of saints who preferred *Sukr* or rapture to *Sahw* or sobriety.[3] In the course of his sojourn in Bengal he came aross a *Darwesh* named Shaikh Burhan, who resided in a mosque. He used to recite some Hindi verses and weep and wail. Certain innovations, as practised by Shaikh Burhan, were distasteful to Abdul Ahad, so he gave up his company. It was during one of his

i-Quddusiya, deserve special mention. [Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi : *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 221-224 ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 98-99 ; C. A. Storey : *Persian Literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, Vol. I (London, 1953), pp. 967-968; Nurul Hasan : Lataif i-Quddusi, *Medieval India Quarterly* Aligarh, Vol. I, no. 1, (1950), pp-49-55]. *Ain i-Akbari* incorrectly gives 950H as the date of his death. (*Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 176).

1. Shaikh Rukn ud-Din was the second son of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh. He was also the disciple of Saiyid Ibrahim, who was an eminent saint of the Qadiriya Silsila. He had permitted Shaikh Rukn ud-Din to enrol disciples in Qadiriya Silsila. He died in 983/1575-76 (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 101-102). Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has also highly extolled his virtues and attainments. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 222).

2. *Supra*, pp. 53, 58.

3. Saiyid Ali Qiwam is said to have seen Prophet Muhammad in a vision who told him, "Oh Ali, why do you strike Delhi at your doors (why do you not care for Delhi ?) and accept nothing from the people ?" He said, "Oh Prophet of God. If there is Delhi, it is thine and if there is door that too is thine. Who is poor Ali and how can he interfere with any object?" He died in 950/1543-44. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 112).

sojourns, which he was used to taking, that he married at Sikandara near Etawah in a family noted for its piety.[1]

After his stay there, he went to Shaikh Rukn ud-Din, who in accordance with the will of his father and due to the high attainments of Shaikh Abdul Ahad exhibited utmost consideration towards him, bestowed on him the *khirqa* and permitted him to initiate disciples in Chishti and Qadiri orders. He was also benefited by the company of Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari[2], another eminent disciple of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh[3]. All these saints had drunk deep at the fountain of *Tauhid i-Wujudi* but they were very particular in the observance of the laws of the *Shariat*. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh, despite his great attachment to *sama* and ecstatic raptures, was strongly devoted to the *Shara* and letters written by him to his contemporary rulers and nobles do not compare unfavourably with those of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in their emphasis on the *Shara* and its propagation.[4]

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 109-112.
2. According to Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi he remained occupied throughout his life in devotion to the Almighty, teaching, preaching, *Zikr* and *Sama*. A number of letters of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh in the collection of his letters are addressed to him. He died on 14 Zilhijja, 989/9 January, 1582. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, p. 285; *Maktubat i-Quddusiya*, Letter nos. 72, 74, 98, 100, 101, 103-105, 108, 116, 120-122, 161, 169, 170 and 171). He wrote a commentary on *Sama* (Ethe 19248) and a treatise entitled *Irshad ul-Talibin* (I.O., Delhi Persian 247c.)
3. Shaikh Abdul Quddus was also very intensely devoted to *sama* and would make bold remarks in that state. Once in an assembly of *sama* at Delhi, he is said to have declared in the presence of Ulama that Mansur Hallaj was executed by the ignorant ones. One of the Alims took serious exception to Shaikh's repeated utterances in this respect and, quoting the name of one of the Alims who had signed the execution decree against Mansur, enquired how he could be ignorant. Shaikh emphatically repeated his opinion. The Alim retorted, "How can that Alim be regarded as ignorant, for when the latter was informed of the fact that the drops of the blood of Mansur took shape of the word *An al-Haq*, the Alim threw his inkpot on the floor and enquired, 'If the drops of blood of Mansur actually took the shape of *An al-Haq*, what is this?" The ink had taken the shape of the name of Allah. The Shaikh was still more excited and exclaimed, "Oh fool ! How can the rivulets of truth flow from inanimate objects ?" (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 100). The Alim referred to the following traditions of Prophet Muhammad, "On the Day of Resurrection the ink used by the scholars will be weighed against the blood of the martyrs and the ink of the scholars will outweigh and turn the scales."
4. *cf.* Letter no. 34 written to Sikandar Lodi, Letter no. 169 to Babur and Letter nos. 170 and 171 to Humayun.

In the assemblies of Shaikh Jalal, Shaikh Abdul Ahad came in contact with an eminent Qadiri saint, Shaikh Kamal,[1] who invited him to Pail, a dependency of Sirhind where he resided. Shaikh Abdul Ahad, after reaching Sirhind, went to Pail to visit Shaikh Kamal and in no time were they on terms of great intimacy. Shaikh Abdul Ahad derived immense benefit from the company of Shaikh Kamal[2] and the latter also frequently visited him in Sirhind.

After returning from his sojourn Shaikh Abdul Ahad settled down at Sirhind and devoted himself to teaching theology and mysticism. *Taaruf*[3], *Awarif ul-Maarif* and *Fusus ul-Hikam* were his favourite texts among those which he taught.[4] Despite his sincere belief in *Tauhid i-Wujudi* he paid great attention to the performance of the obligations of the *Shariat*. He had also acquired a thorough knowledge of the works of the Naqshbandi order and nourished a keen desire to get himself initiated into it through some perfect guide of this *Silsila*. He also wrote certain works on Sufism.[5] He died on 17 Rajab, 1007/13 Feb., 1599. To the last, he went on advising his son, Shaikh Ahmad, regarding the importance of the ardent devotion to the family of Prophet Muhammad.[6] He had seven sons of whom Shaikh Ahmad was the fourth.[7] From his very childhood Shaikh Ahmad moved in the company of Alims and saints. Shah Kamal Qadiri Kaithali had a very keen interest in the boy.[8] When Shaikh Kamal died, Shaikh Ahmad was not more than ten years old but he would recall the deep associations of his parents with Shaikh Kamal with great excitement.

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 104-105.
2. He in his ecstatic raptures would generally retire to the jungle or some such lonely place and did not care for food and drink. He died at a ripe old age of more than ninety years in 981/1573-74 and was buried in Kaithal near Sirhind. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 104-108).
3. *Kitab i-Taaruf* by Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ibrahim Bukhari. (*d.* 390/999).
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 113.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
7. His eldest brother Shaikh Shah Muhammad was the disciple of his father. Shaikh Masud, the second son, was the disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. The names of third and seventh brother are nowhere given. Fifth and sixth were Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad and Shaikh Fawad.
8. It is said that once he fell seriously ill. His mother took him to Shaikh Kamal to secure his blessings. The Shaikh in a fit of ecstasy prophesied that the boy would live to a ripe old age. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 128).

He commenced his education by committing the *Quran* to memory, which he did in a very short period. Preliminary education was imparted to him by his father with great care. He also sat at the feet of other contemporary scholars of Sirhind. Afterwards he went to Sialkot where he studied the works on *Maqulat* under an eminent Alim, Maulana Kamal Kashmiri. He studied *Hadis* under Maulana Yaqub Kashmiri who was highly respected for his profound knowledge of *Hadis* and was an intimate friend of Shaikh Faizi and Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni. Qazi Bahlul Badakhshani, another great Alim, taught him some advanced texts on *Tafsir* and *Hadis*. From the age of seventeen he started teaching the students who thronged around his father.[1] Though he had acquired the knowledge of *Maqulat* also, it appears that he had no taste for it and laid undue emphasis on *Manqulat* (Traditions etc). This had made him dogmatic from the very beginning. He also visited Agra when about twenty[2] years in age but the company of philosophers[3] and scientists could not broaden his outlook. Rather, the catholicity and eclecticism of the scholars associated with the Imperial Court seem to have affected his mind adversely.

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 128-129. Badauni, Vol. III, pp. 143-145.
2. Akbar set off for Punjab on 22 August, 1585 and remained in that region till November 1598. (Abul Fazl : *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 467, 746). Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi therefore seems to have reached Agra before 1585. He was then not more than twenty-one years old. He appears to have stayed in Agra even after the departure of the Imperial camp. It was in the second year of the accession of Shah Abbas Safawi (997/1588-89) that the Ulama of Mashhad wrote a letter to the Ulama of Transoxiana who had legalised the destruction of Mashhad and its inhabitants. [Iskandar Beg Turkman : *Alam Arai Abbasi*, Vol. II, (Tehran, 1314H), pp. 259-265]. Mujaddid seems to have got acquainted with the letter in Agra.
3. An anecdote, given in almost all the Naqshbandi works glorifying Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, shows his typical attitude towards Philosophy and secular sciences. "One day," goes the anecdote, "Shaikh Abul Fazl in his assembly, at which Shaikh Ahmad was also present, spoke so highly of philosophers and their sciences that according to the latter, it amounted to an insult to the Ulama. Shaikh Ahmad in his zeal for orthodoxy could not tolerate it and quoted one of the treatises of Ghazzali wherein he had remarked that the 'Sciences which the philosophers claimed to have invented and which were of some utility were astronomy and medicine, but these sciences were stolen from the works and sayings of the Prophets of the past. The other sciences which were invented by them, like Mathematics etc, were of no use to religion". Abul Fazl was exasperated at this queer approach and scornfully rejected it as unreasonable. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 131-132 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, f. 3b).

The Naqshbandi sources claim that during his stay at Agra he often visited Shaikh Abul Fazl, who used to show the utmost regard for him on account of his eminence. According to *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, the earliest available Naqshbandi source, once Shaikh Faizi was unable to find a suitable expression for his undotted commentary on the *Quran* entitled *Sawati ul-Ilham.* Shaikh Ahmad happened to arrive at that time and immediately wrote an excellent commentary on some of the difficult portions in undotted words though he was not used to such type of work. *Hazrat ul-Quds* and other Naqshbandi sources have gone to the extent of claiming that Shaikh Ahmad contributed to a greater portion of the commentary, but this appears hardly tenable.[1]

By this time he had commenced taking an interest in writing short tracts on Sufism and Islamic theology. He had written *Risala i-Tahliliyah* and *Risala i-Asbat i-Nubuwat.* He wrote a treatise on the refutation of *Rawafiz* (Shias). In the preface of the work he says that the Shias had written a treatise on the occasion of the siege of Mashhad to the Ulama of Transoxiana in refutation of their letters which declared Shias as *kafirs* and exhorted the Sunnis to take forcible possession of the property and belongings of the Shias. This tract was brought to his notice. He found it nothing but a fraud, full of vituperative remarks against the first three Caliphs and condemnation of Aisha, one of the most beloved wives of Prophet Muhammad and the daughter of the first Caliph Abu Bakr. Some Shia scholars would take the tract to the assemblies of the nobles and the grandees,

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 132; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, f. 3b. The comments of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni on this work are curious indeed. He says, "Not content with this he (Faizi) used, despite the sacred faith of Muhammad, to regard all forbidden things as lawful, and all the injunctions of the sacred law as unlawful, and, with a view to washing away the stain of his ill repute, which the waters of a hundred oceans (poured over it) till the Day of Judgment will not wash away, he used, in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure, to write commentary on the *Quran*, written entirely in words which contained no dotted letter, and his dogs used to trample on it in all directions." (Haig, pp. 413-414; Badauni, Vol. III, p. 300). All the more strange is the association of Shaikh Ahmad, if the above statement is at all true, who claimed to champion the cause of orthodoxy even at that period, with a work which was said to have been written in such undesirable circumstances. The commentary was completed in 1002H in about six years. It seems to have been commenced in 996/1587-88 at Lahore and not at Agra, for Faizi had left Agra with Akbar in 1585. Collaboration of Mujaddid in this work at any stage is, therefore, impossible. [Faizi: Preface to *Sawati ul-Ilham* (Lucknow, 1306), pp. 4-19].

discuss it and take pride in it. In their assemblies and debates Shaikh Ahmad would therefore refute the Shias, basing his arguments on traditional and logical grounds, and would expose their fallacies, but without avail. This filled him with frustration, but he sought satisfaction in the belief that his purpose would remain unserved if he failed to pen his view-point for the benefit of his co-religionists.[1]

The refutation is as unconvincing as the original work is vituperative. However, the catholic atmosphere of the court and the liberal discussions of the theological problems in the assemblies of the nobles did not fail to arouse aversion in Shaikh Ahmad and he left Agra after some time with his father, who had come to visit him, and there took to teaching and discoursing on religious and Sufic problems. Life at Sirhind could not give him satisfaction ; he wished to leave for Hijaz but he couldn't move out of Sirhind till his father's death[2] in 1007/1599.

In 1008/1599-1600, he left Sirhind with a view to proceeding on pilgrimage and reached Delhi. One of his friends Maulana Hasan Kashmiri, who was an ardent devotee of Khwaja Baqi Billah, highly extolled the virtues of his preceptor and that of his *Silsila*. Shaikh Ahmad's father, too, felt attracted to the Naqshbandi Silsila but he could not find a suitable spiritual guide. Khwaja Baqi Billah welcomed Shaikh Ahmad most warmly, and contrary to his practice asked him to postpone his journey for a few days and to stay with him. Shaikh Ahmad felt the impact of the magnetic personality of Khwaja Baqi Billah within a few hours of his first contact with him and made up his mind the very next day of his stay to become his disciple. The Khwaja, without any hesitation, asked him to perform the *Zikr* which was meant only for intimate disciples.[3] On account of the personal attention of

1. *Risala i-Radd i-Rawafiz*, pp. 1-2 ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 131-133.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 133-134.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 139-140 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 5b ; *Majma ul-Auliya*, f. 435a. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was formerly initiated into Chishti and Qadiri *Silsilas* and was allowed to enrol disciples in these orders. The *khirqa* of Shaikh Kamal, in accordance with the latter's will, was also passed on to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 134-135). It is said that Khwaja Baqi Billah used to remark that when Maulana Khwajgi asked him to depart to India so that the Naqshbandi Silsila might become popular on account of him, he did not find himself equal to the charge. Maulana ordered to decide it through some augury. Khwaja Baqi Billah felt as if a parrot was sitting on a branch and he was making a vow that if the parrot, coming from that branch sat on his hand, he would gain success in that journey. Instantaneously the parrot flew and sat over his hand. He poured his saliva into its beak and the parrot poured

Khwaja Baqi Billah, Shaikh Ahmad began to make rapid progress and gave up the idea of pilgrimage. A number of anecdotes are recounted in the *Mujaddidi* traditions which show that the Master was greatly proud of his disciple and that he considered the main purpose of his next visit to Hindustan to initiate Shaikh Ahmad into the Naqshbandi order. With the training and hard labour of a few months, Shaikh Ahmad mastered the discipline of the Naqshbandi order. He used to recall how rapidly he underwent the Naqshbandi discipline and how affectionately and patiently the Khwaja helped him in traversing the mystic path. After some time he was allowed to go back to Sirhind and Khwaja Baqi Billah tendered the following advice to him :—

"Keep your *Nisbat* (spiritual relationship) to yourself, and remain sitting on your prayer carpet from the early morning prayers to the *Ishraq* prayers , thereby avoiding being busy in the circle of your disciples. Later on, you should lecture on the different branches of theology; but beware of impudent disciples. You should remain occupied with your studies and the correction of manuscripts. Be cautious against talking like the Sufis, but talk as the Alims. But if perchance you have to speak in the manner of the Sufis, you should make use of allusions and involved speech so that no one but the particular persons (by whom you wish to be understood) might be able to follow it."[1] Khwaja Baqi Billah was so highly impressed by the virtues and attainments of his disciple that soon after his departure he wrote to one of his friends, "A person named Shaikh Ahmad belonging to Sirhind has acquired immense knowledge and is perfect in action. He has stayed in the company of this *Faqir* for some days and has been found most promising. He appears like a lamp which will illumine the world. God be praised! I am convinced of his mystic accomplishments. The Shaikh has got brothers and relations, all of whom are pious people and belong to the class of Ulama. Some of them have met me. They are really precious jewels and possess extraordinary abilities."[2] Afterwards, Shaikh

sugar in Khwaja Baqi Billah's mouth. Next day when Khwaja Baqi Billah related this event to Maulana Khwajgi, he replied that the parrot was an Indian bird. In India a saint would appear among his disciples who would illumine the world. The Khwaja used to say that when he reached Sirhind he saw a dream that he was staying in the neighbourhood of a *Qutb* and he was also informed of the external form of that *Qutb*. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 139-141 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 8b).

1. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, f. 12a.
2. *Maktubat i-Baqi Billah*, f. 28b.

Ahmad visited Baqi Billah in Sirhind on two other occasions. During his second visit, Khwaja Baqi Billah made predictions regarding the high spiritual attainments which he was going to acquire. Next time when he visited his preceptor again he was allowed to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandi order and was declared by the Khwaja as his successor. When he went back to Sirhind, he gathered round him a number of disciples. He also wrote a short treatise during this period on the Naqshbandi order and sent the drafts for the perusal of his preceptor. Later, he wrote on certain Sufic aspects of *Silsilat ul-Ahrar* comprising an account of the Naqshbandi teachings and appended it to the above treatise.[1] Khwaja would also recommend disciples to him for education and training. Shaikh Ahmad used to communicate to his preceptor his experiences and attainments.[2] The first nineteen letters of the first volume of his *Maktubat* give a vivid picture of the various stages of his mystic progress. He would post his preceptor about the progress of his disciples also. When Khwaja Baqi Billah wrote, as he often did, to enquire about the spiritual progress of his own disciples who lived with him in Delhi, Shaikh Ahmad would in reply correctly report their actual attainments on the basis of his intuition. It was about this time that he wrote the following letter of Volume I of his *Maktubat*[3] : "When I carefully beheld the *maqam* (station) where I had seen myself before in accordance with your orders, I found that the first three Caliphs had also traversed that *maqam*. As I had no stability or firmness at that *maqam*, they could not be visible to me earlier. But for Imam Hasan, Husain, and Zain ul-Abidin[4], none from amongst the *Imams* of the house of the Prophet has got firmness or stability there, though they too have traversed that *maqam*. They can be perceived only when viewed very minutely. . . .

"After beholding that *maqam* again, many *maqamat* each superior to the other, became visible. Subsequent to my humble and submissive prayers when I reached a *maqam* higher than the earlier one, it appeared that this *maqam* belonged to Hazrat Zunnurain.[5] Other Caliphs have

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Letter no. 5.
2. It is curious that a letter which gives an account of the spiritual attainments of Khwaja Burhan also recounts the anxieties of the latter regarding his *Madad i-Maash* of Malwa province. (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Letter no. 5).
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Letter no. 11.
4. 2nd, 3rd and 4th *Imams*, according to the beliefs of Shias. Hasan and Husain were sons of Ali and Zain ul-Abidin was the son of Husain.
5. Third Caliph, Usman.

also traversed this *maqam*. This *maqam* also relates to the *maqam* of perfection and guidance. Similarly two other *maqamat* above the present one, now being recounted, are the *maqamat* of (perfection and guidance too). When I reached that *maqam*, it appeared that it belonged to Faruq[1] ; other Caliphs have also traversed the *maqam* in question. Above that *maqam* came to view *maqam* of Siddiq i-Akbar[2]. I reached that *maqam* also. Amongst the *Mashaikh* (saints), I found Khwaja Naqshband with me at each *maqam*. Other Caliphs have also traversed this *maqam*. There is no distinction but for the one which exists between traversing and staying , transitoriness and stability. Above that *maqam* no other *maqam* was comprehensible, except that of the *maqam* of the Seal of the Prophets[3]. Opposite to the *maqam* of Siddiq, I saw another *maqam* which was extremely luminous, and similar to that *maqam* none other had been seen. This was a bit higher than the former one in the same manner as a dias is constructed above the ground. It was known that it was the *maqam* of *Mahbubiyat*[4]. That *maqam* was graceful and brilliant. I found myself coloured and painted with the reflection of that *maqam*. It gave me a feeling of being graceful and sublime like air or a piece of cloud hovering over different regions and even to have myself covered the same regions."[5]

When this third visit was reported to the Khwaja, he himself set out from the Firuzi fort, where he resided, to welcome him. He received him at the Kabuli gate and showed him the utmost respect. As Khwaja Baqi Billah had been ailing for some years past and did not expect to survive for long, he asked Shaikh Ahmad to take care of his sons, Khwaja Abdullah and Khwaja Ubaidullah, who were still in their infancy.[6] Shaikh Ahmad after returning from Delhi stayed for a short while at Sirhind and later on shifted to Lahore where he is said to have attracted a considerable number of disciples ; but soon after hearing about the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah, which took place on 30 November, 1603, Shaikh Ahmad left for Delhi to mourn the death of his preceptor.[7]

1. Second Caliph, Umar.
2. First Caliph, Abu Bakr.
3. Prophet Muhammad.
4. Loveliness *i.e.* that of Prophet Muhammad who is believed to be the beloved of God.
5. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 11.
6. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 155.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-158.

Though Khwaja Baqi Billah had given Shaikh Ahmad a very important place amongst his disciples, the senior disciples were in no mood to allow him to keep it, for they considered him a new comer. The contemporary *Mujaddidi Tazkiras* seek to gloss over the conflict, which ensued after the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah,[1] but Shaikh Ahmad had to face considerable difficulty in regaining his distinguished position amongst the senior disciples of the Khwaja and it took some time before Shaikh Ahmad could consolidate it. Generally, he did not move out of Sirhind after 1603 except to visit the tomb of his preceptor in Delhi and to go to Agra on two or three occasions and to Allahabad on another occasion. Like his preceptor he did not lead a quiet and passive life but tried to propagate his views systematically through the nobles and grandees of the Imperial Court. Those factors and currents, which had brought about an integration of the different sections of the Indian population during four hundred years of Muslim rule in India, specially under Akbar, he deemed to have sullied the purity of Islam and the political, social and cultural life of the Muslims. He, therefore, took it into his head to act as a cathartic, purging the religious, social and cultural life of the Muslims of all the so-called undesirable influences and un-Islamic practices. In dabbling in politics he claimed to be following in the footsteps of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. But it is difficult to say whether the Khwaja, with his absorption in the quest for truth,[2] and placed in a country like India, could have preached the same ideology as was propagated by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The swing towards eclecticism in Agra had undoubtedly hardened Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi all the more in his reactionary ideology ; but that reaction had its genesis in his very birth place, Sirhind, which is situated not very far from Thaneswar, Kurukshetra and Kangra, all of them prominent centres of Hindu pilgrimage, which enjoyed complete religious freedom during the reign of Akbar. In the past, the Turk and Afghan Sultans generally abstained from interfering with the religious beliefs and practices of their subjects and allowed the Hindus perfect liberty to observe their rites and ceremonies in their own way.[3] The

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, ff. 11b-12a.
2. He is said to have remarked, "If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him" (Dara Shukoh : *Majma ul-Bahrain*, Calcutta, p. 38).
3. Though Sikandar Lodi is said to have destroyed the temples in Mathura and imposed severe restrictions on Hindu pilgrims in regard to bathing and shaving of heads, (*Rizqullah Mushtaqi* : *Waqiat i-Mushtaqi*, Rieu, Vol. II, 802b, p. 14), the

inconsiderate section of the orthodox Muslims considered it a meritorious act to construct mosques near the important centres of Hindu pilgrimage and the problem always remained a great source of trouble for the local governors. Even during the complete ascendancy of Shaikh Abdun Nabi in the reign of Akbar, the construction of a mosque by Qazi Abdur Rahim of Mathura was disputed by a wealthy local Brahmin, who not only carried off the material which the Qazi had collected for the construction of a mosque but also built a temple from that very material. When the Qazi attempted to prevent him, the Brahmin in the presence of witnesses heaped curses on the Prophet and showed his contempt for Muslims in various other ways.[1] Shaikh Ahmad has also complained of the destruction of a mosque and a tomb in Kurukshetra by the Hindus and construction of a temple at that site,[2] in Jahangir's reign. These isolated incidents should be examined in their particular context. The 'Vaishnaviya Gosains of Mathura' or the Hindus of Thaneswar or Kurukshetra could not think to organise a militant movement against Islam, as some modern historians interpret[3]. Vaishnavism is essentially a cult of love. As a matter of fact, Hindus and Muslims had, despite many hindrances, evolved a common spiritual brotherhood and, in their predicament did not discriminate between a Sufi's tomb and an idol of a temple. "Crowds on crowds of the people of Islam" paid visits to Kangra and took their offerings and prayed before the image, installed there.[4] Likewise both Hindus and Muslims crowded to manifest their complete faith in Guru Arjun Dev and his predecessors.[5]

In these circumstances it should be no wonder if the *Makhadim*[6] of Sirhind in particular did not see eye to eye with the Akbar's policy

following incident deserves special mention. When he was a prince he intended to prohibit the Hindus from bathing at Kurukshetra. He consulted the Alims on this point. Malikul Ulama Abdullah Ajudhani opposed the prince and said, "It is not proper for us to demolish an old temple and the custom of bathing which had been prevalent since ancient times, should not be stopped." Malik ul-Ulama did not change his views despite Sultan's threats and persuasions. (*Waqiat i-Mushtaqi*, p. 16 ; *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 336; *Tarikh i-Daudi*, Aligarh, pp. 29-30).

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 80.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 92.
3. S. M. Ikram and Prof S. A. Rashid : *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 270.
4. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, p. 224.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.
6. *Shaikhzadas* and other saints and Alims.

of "peace with all." The Afghan population, which was in a majority there, had not reconciled itself to the Mughul rule. In August 1585, after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim (12 Shaban 933/30 July, 1585), Akbar while marching towards Kabul could not leave the disgruntled Afghans in his rear to foment disaffection in the name of religion. They were to be dealt with tactfully. He ordered Shaikh Abul Fazl to depute some one "to convey the happy message of his arrival so that they should pay homage to him and be hopeful of his bounties." They seem to have avoided seeing him. Faizi Sirhindi diplomatically remarks, "The messengers under the impulse of some foul intentions struck terror into the hearts of this chicken-hearted group, and delayed in presenting them." The royal cavalcade had meanwhile reached the gardens of Hafiz Rakhna in the vicinity of Sirhind but was not accorded any welcome by the *Makhadim*. This incident was reported to the Emperor. He remarked that he intended to exalt those unfortunate ones but their fortune did not befriend them. Exasperated at their behaviour he ordered Hafiz Sultan *Karori* of the place, who was present there, to withhold the *Madad i-Maash* from them unless they presented renewed *Sanads*. Five or six persons were presented to him and all of them were rewarded according to their status. They were restored to favour. Next day Shaikh Faizi paid a visit to the house of Faizi Sirhindi and, consoling him, informed him that the *Makhadim* should not be down-hearted, for, God willing, their affairs would be satisfactorily set right.[1] The *Makhadim* of Sirhind were thus never favourably disposed towards Akbar.

It was this environment in which Shaikh Ahmad was born and brought up. He found both Lahore and Agra pulsating with pantheistic mysticism, and crowded with the protagonists of the policy of "peace with all." Religion was not allowed to wield the rod of persecution and create bad blood among the various sections of the Indian population. Sunnis, Shias, Hindus and even Christians, Jains, Parsis, Sikhs and other religious groups had attained to their due status in political affairs in Akbar's reign and were assigned respectable place in the society. They rendered yeoman service to the country and served the Emperor with unflinching zeal. It was during the last days of his reign, that on account of the revolt of Prince Salim, the solidarity of the nobles, which was achieved through persistent efforts by the Emperor, was shaken.

1. Faizi Sirhindi : *Akbar Nama* (India Office Manuscript, I.O. 192), ff. 161b-162a. Abul Fazl has not dealt with this incident. (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 468).

Disorder and confusion spread in many regions of the Empire, mainly those of the frontiers.[1] Shaikh Ahmad and Shaikh Abdul Haq could not get an opportunity better than the present one to champion the cause of the *Shariat* and Shaikh Ahmad sought to whip up communal frenzy, with no doubt little success, in the beginning of Jahangir's reign.

The followers of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, referred to as Mujaddid in the subsequent pages, went on glorifying his activities in successive generations and the modern scholars have made him a legendary figure. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad brought out his *Tazkira* in 1919 mainly with a view to introducing his ancestors to the public and fostering a national consciousness among the Muslims. The publication of this work, eulogising the activities of some Ulama and Sufis, including of course Mujaddid,[2] who did not see eye to eye with the policy of State, has given birth to a new interpretation of Mujaddid's personality and influence. In the other works,[3] appearing in the wake of Maulana Azad's *Tazkira*, Mujaddid is found depicted as a hero both of the communalists as well as of the Indian nationalists. The communalists credit him with having saved the Mughul Empire for Islam by weaning away Jahangir from heterodoxy, while in his alleged refusal to

1. *Zubdat ut-Tawarikh*, f. 248a.
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad : *Tazkira* (Lahore reprint), pp. 264-268.
3. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram : *Rud i-Kausar*, pp. 122-194; *Al-Furqan* (Mujaddid Alf i-Sani Special issue and based on the same ; Muhammad Manzur Numani : *Tazkira i-Mujaddid Alf i-Sani* (Lucknow) ; Maududi, Abul Ala : *Tajdid wa Ihya i-Din* (Rampur, 1954); Maulana Muhammad Miyan : *Ulama i-Hind Ka Shandar Mazi Jadid*, pp. 188-307. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal : Urdu Verse-"His neck did not bend before Jahangir"—*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 192-193 ; M. M. Zuhur ud-Din Ahmad : *Mystic Tendencies in Islam in the light of the Quran and Traditions* pp. 38-42, 117-126, 161-166, 175-178, 182-189, 192-193, 200-203 ; Yusuf Husain : *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, (Bombay, 1957) ; Muhammad Yasin : *A Social History of Islamic India* (Lucknow, 1958); S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid: *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, pp. 264-272 ; I. H. Qureshi : *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent* (The Hague, 1962), pp. 149-163. S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid remark, "It is not true, as many have held since Maulana Abul Kalam Azad eloquently put forward his views in his *Tazkirah*, that but for these letters Muslim nobles would not have stood by Islam, or but for the efforts of Shaikh Ahmad, Akbar's heterodoxy would have superseded Islam in India. Generally speaking Muslim nobility had not been unmindful of its responsibilities, and Akbar's heterodoxy had died with him even before Shaikh Ahmad took an active hand in the matter." (*History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, p. 267).

prostrate himself before Jahangir the Indian nationalists find him a great revolutionary. This gives an impression to those who have not examined the contemporary sources objectively that Mujaddid was not only a man of no mean importance in relation to Jahangir but also exercised a great influence on Jahangir's policies. It is, therefore, very essential that the activities of the nobles and grandees, whom Mujaddid wrote letters to enlist their support, should be examined alongwith their influence on contemporary politics so that the extent to which they influenced the course of events, if any, may be properly estimated.

Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who had helped Khwaja Baqi Billah immensely in consolidating his position and is depicted as a fifth columnist of Mujaddid, by those who unduly seek to emphasise his importance, was gradually elevated to a high status of trust by Akbar on account of the former's unflinching loyalty and devotion to the Emperor. His associations with Baqi Billah and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi could neither diminish his firm loyalty to Akbar nor is he known to have ever criticised the Emperor for his religious views. He encouraged Shaikh Alahdad Faizi Sirhindi to compile a history of Akbar which extols beyond measure the achievements of the Emperor.[1] The news of the assassination of Shaikh Abul Fazl, which according to the Naqshbandi sources took place due to the prayers of Khwaja Baqi Billah, could be communicated to Akbar by none else but Shaikh Farid Bukhari.[2] This rejects any presumption of his ever being inimical to Akbar because in that contingency he would have deemed it prudent not to divulge the news of the death of a person whose destruction his preceptors longed for. It was he who was asked by Akbar in 1604 to inform the servants of the state to leave off their mourning dress which they had put on due to the sad demise of his mother Maryam Makani, on the *Dasehra* day.[3] His relations with Akbar remained very cordial till the Emperor's last moments and Akbar reposed utmost confidence in him, which was never betrayed.

Farid Bukhari is given the credit of having obtained a promise from Prince Salim to protect Islam as a price for the royal throne under a

1. Faizi Sirhindi : *Akbar Nama* (I. C. 192), ff. 2a-3a.
2. *Takmilah i-AkbarNama* (Abul Fazl's *AkbarNama*,Vol. III, p. 813); Asad Beg : *Waqai* (Aligarh University Mss.).
3. *Akbar Nama*, p. 831.

plan, which was, if not actually chalked out by Mujaddid, at least blessed by him. An eminent modern historian[1] has also given credence to the major portion of the above story. This view seems to have its genesis apparently in the following statement of the Jesuits (curiously enough it suited the apologists of Mujaddid as well as the Jesuits) :

"Upto this time, the Prince had not ventured to appear before his father. Some said that this was because his father suspected him of having given him the poison. Others said the Prince feared to come to the palace lest the great nobles should seize him, and, taking the kingdom from him, give it to his son, to whom the king had shown himself well-inclined. Such fears and forebodings did, in fact, weigh heavily upon him, so that one night he seemed like a fugitive, not knowing whom he could trust. Soon, however, as groups of the common people joined him, he regained his courage, while the nobles, after turning the matter over in their minds, judged it better that the kingdom should be given to him to whom by right it belonged. Accordingly, the leading noble,[2] having been sent by the others as their representative, came to the Prince and promised, in all their names, to place the kingdom in his hands, provided that he would swear to defend the law of Mahomet, to do no ill or offence either to his son, to whom the king wished to leave the kingdom, or to those who had sought to secure his son's succession. All these conditions he swore to fulfil, and, accompanied by a strong guard, went to see his father."[3]

People expected much from the new king, specially the Fathers who believed that his accession would usher in an era of great success for Christianity. For, upto that time Jahangir was looked upon by the Jesuits almost as a Christian, and was openly spoken of as such by them. But those hopes were shattered, for according to the Jesuits he had sworn on oath to "the Moors to uphold the law of Mafamede (Muhammad), and being anxious at the commencement of his reign to secure their good-will, he gave orders for the cleansing of the mosques,

1. Dr. R. P. Tripathi says thus, "They took a promise from him to defend Islam but to seek no revenge on the supporters of Khusro and then declaring Salim as the Emperor began to beat the drums to celebrate the day." (*Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1950, p. 340).

2. Father P. Du Jarric does not mention the name of the noble but Payne on the basis of Asad Beg's *Waqai's* translation in Elliot and Dowson guessed that he was Shaikh Farid. (*Akbar and the Jesuits*; London, 1926, p. 278).

3. C. H. Payne : *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 204.

restored the fasts (*ramesas*) and prayers of the Moors, and took the name Nurdin Mohammad Jahanuir, which signifies, 'The splendour of the Law of Mafamede, Conqueror of the World.' Of the Fathers, he took no more notice than if he had never seen them before."[1]

In view of the above controversy it is essential to dwell in brief upon the part played by Shaikh Farid in the accession of Jahangir to the Mughul throne. Around the death bed of Akbar, Mirza Aziz Koka, the father-in-law of Prince Khusrau and Man Singh, his maternal uncle, planned a *coup de main* to arrest Prince Salim, on the latter's arrival to pay his respects at the Court and thus to clear the way to throne for Khusrau. Both of them had great influence in the administrative matters of the Empire. But fortunately for Salim he was forewarned of the plot, while on way to the Court, by Ziya ul-Mulk Qazwini ; so he returned to his own palace. The news so unnerved Salim that he decided to quit Agra ; just then Shaikh Rukn ud-Din Rohilla, one of Prince Salim's loyal servants, who had a large body of followers, arrived and prevailed upon the Prince to patiently wait for a while and watch how the events took shape. Meanwhile, Khan i-Azam and Raja Man Singh resorted to persuasive tactics and they tried to impress upon the nobles the desirability of their agreeing to the supercession of Prince Salim by Prince Khusrau, but Said Khan, an eminent Mughul noble, strongly opposed the proposal, for it amounted to throwing overboard the customs and laws of Chaghtai *Tora*. Qulij Khan, another eminent noble, also joined him. Mutual consultations ended with fiasco and the scheme of Mirza Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh was foiled. A counter move sprang up spontaneously in favour of Prince Salim in which Raja Rama Das Kachhwaha, Shaikh Farid and Mirza Sharif Mutamad Khan played a prominent role. Raja Rama Das Kachhwaha, with all his followers, hastened to guard the treasury; Shaikh Farid took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Barha and his own relations. At the same time Mirza Sharif Mutamad Khan contacted Shaikh Farid to enquire about his intentions. Knowing him to be nourishing the same intention as his own, the Shaikh said, "I intend to go to the Prince." Mutamad Kham expressed his readiness to do the same. Shaikh Farid advised him to go first to the Prince and told him that he himself would be there immediately with his followers. Mirza Sharif reaching Prince Salim, informed him how the assembly of his enemies had broken up, and told him that Shaikh Farid was

1. C. H. Payne: *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (London, 1930), p. 3.

reaching to join him. Shortly afterwards Shaikh Farid arrived with a strong force and Barha Sadats. He was awarded the robe of honour and a jewelled sword. Gradually, others also began to pour in and at the end of the day Khan-i-Azam too, deeply mortified, arrived and paid his obeisance. Raja Man Singh withdrew to his house with Prince Khusrau with a view to proceeding to Bengal, next day. When Prince Salim was thoroughly satisfied, he reached the fort with eminent nobles and Shaikh Farid. The Emperor was breathing his last but he opened his eyes and made a sign to bring the royal robes and turban which he had got prepared for him. The Prince, dressed in the royal robe, performed *Sijda* and *Taslim* and the Emperor gave up the ghost. After the burial of Akbar, Jahangir deputed Madho Singh, brother of Man Singh, to rush to his brother and persuade him to return. When Madho Singh reached Man Singh, the latter informed him that he was interested only in Prince Khusrau, who was young, and asked him to go to the Emperor and obtain a pledge from him that no harm would be done to the Prince. Afterwards, he would have no objection in taking him to the Emperor. Jahangir thereupon gave the desired pledge to Madho Singh and they returned to the Imperial Court.[1]

The above account of Asad Beg as well as similar narratives available in other contemporary sources including *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* clearly show that the Mughul nobility was divided into two camps—one joining Prince Salim and the other actively espousing the cause of Khusrau. Considerations of caste and creed were singularly absent while these groupings were taking place. Mirza Aziz Koka and Shaikh Farid, though they are claimed to be the main pillars of Mujaddid's organization, were poles apart on the issue of succession. Man Singh supported the cause of Prince Khusrau while Rama Das Kachhwaha threw his weight on the side of Prince Salim. In the debate the supporters of Khusrau were silenced by the opposite party with the plea that his succession was a violation to the sanctity of Chaghtai *Tora*[2] and not that Salim would support the cause of Islam. Therefore in the context of the above, the question of having obtained any promise from Prince Salim, who had never shown any leanings towards orthodoxy, to defend Islam, appears ridiculous. Likewise, obtaining of the pledge for Khusrau's safety

1. Asad Beg : *Waqai* (Aligarh University Mss.), ff. 131-137 ; British Museum (Rieu III, 979b, Or 1996), ff. 28b-30a.
2. Asad Beg : *Waqai* (Aligarh University Mss.).

by Man Singh sounds more natural and correct. Shaikh Farid, who is given the entire credit in the whole drama, appeared very late on the scene. As a matter of fact, Ziya ul-Mulk Qazwini, Shaikh Rukn ud-Din Rohilla, Said Khan, Rama Das Kachhwaha and Mirza Sharif Mutamad Khan were the men who played the pivotal role. According to *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, to whose author Shaikh Farid Bukhari was intimately known, the latter was originally an associate of Mirza Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh, and Khizri Gate was assigned to him ; but he later on deserted them alongwith Said Khan and Makhsus Khan Chaghta. The latter left the fort on some pretext, paid homage to Prince Salim and conveyed their congratulations on his succession to the imperial throne on behalf of Farid Bukhari.[1]

The hatching of the plot by Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka to arrest Salim and enthrone Khusrau, its leakage to Salim through Ziya ul-Mulk Qazwini, the opposition of Said Khan, and the active support of Rama Das Kachhwaha, Mirza Sharif Mutamad Khan and Shaikh Farid for the cause of Prince Salim culminating in his accession to the throne, were events which took place in quick succession. This rapidity with which the chain of events took place should convince a sober scholar about there being absolutely no plan worth the name, in accordance with which Shaikh Farid extracted a promise from Prince Salim to defend Islam as a price for the throne. It is therefore erroneous to associate the jubilation expressed by Mujaddid on the accession of Jahangir with his having ever initiated or blessed the idea of exacting a promise from Prince Salim. For, it was not only Mujaddid alone who gave vent to jubilation and wrote a letter to Shaikh Farid, but Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi also addressed a letter to Shaikh Farid, expressing his joy at the accession of Jahangir. Moreover, the letters were written by Mujaddid after the accession and, still further, there is no mention in them of any previous agreement between Shaikh Farid and Prince Salim over the question of succession. It appears that the coronation of Jahangir, which took place in conventional manner, was taken by the Jesuits as some sort of understanding arrived at between Jahangir and the nobles "to defend the law of Mahomet". The pledge which Jahangir gave to Man Singh regarding the safety of Khusrau was likewise made a part of the same story. The entire narrative was thus prepared by the Jesuits by joining together different stray incidents and

1. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, Vol. I, Karachi 1961, p. 82.

the inferences which they drew from the events which followed Akbar's death, with a view to hiding the failure of their mission in Jahangir's court. Nor do the policy adopted by Jahangir immediately after his accession and the orders promulgated by him, by any stretch of imagination, indicate any such promise by Jahangir to the nobles. Jahangir after his accession scrupulously abstained from holding under criticism any of the policies of his illustrious father as also from embarking upon changing the frame-work of the administration prepared by Akbar; on the contrary, he was all praise for the broad-mindedness of his father in religious matters and the policy of "peace with all" as pursued by him.[1] On his accession to the Mughul throne, Jahangir changed him name, as it bore resemblance to that of the Sultāns of Turkey. He has accepted without any mental reservations that, "I should give myself the name of Jahangir (world seizer) and make my title of honour (*Laqab*) Nur ud-Din, inasmuch as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the great light (the sun)." Secondly, the change in the name was effected with a view to making it agreeable to the prophecy of the Indian astrologers that Nur ud-Din would succeed after the death of Jalal ud-Din Akbar.[2] He could have easily exploited the Ulama to his advantage, or could have glossed over his title in

1. Giving an account of the religious policy of his father, Jahangir says, "The professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of his incomparable sway. This was different from the practice in other realms, for in Persia there is room for Shias only, and in Turkey, India, and Turan there is room for Sunnis only. As in the wide expanse of the Divine compassion there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so, on the principle that the shadow must have the same properties as the Light, in his dominions, which on all sides were limited only by the salt sea, there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs good and bad, and the road to altercation was closed. Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque, and Franks and Jews in one church, and observed their own forms of Worship." (*Tuzuk*, R & B, Vol. I, p. 37). The above remarks bear eloquent testimony to the fact that no part of Akbar's religious policy failed either in his reign or was abandoned in that of Jahangir.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 3. In the eighth year of his reign it was brought to his notice that the name 'Jahangir' according to the science of *Abjad* (numerals reckoned by letters) corresponded to the great name "*Allahu Akbar.*" Considering this a good omen, he gave the man, who discovered the coincidence, land, a horse, cash and clothing. (*Tuzuk*, R & B, Vol. I, p. 253). Compare Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi's opposition against the use of *Allah u-Akbar* on seals. (Badauni : *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, p. 210). In order to avoid ambiguity he suggested the use of *Lazikrullahi Akbaru* (To commemorate God is the greatest thing). Jahangir, however, did not fail to take pride in thisc oincidence.

the Islamic fashion, had he found any need to placate the orthodox elements or intended any change in his attitude even for the time being. While a prince, he had never shown any inclination towards the Sunni orthodoxy. None of the twelve edicts announced by him as his *Dasturul amal* implies any concession to Islamic revivalism. The eleventh order, rather prohibited the slaughter of animals on Thursdays and Sundays in the week and from 18th Rabi ul-Awwal, which was his birthday, for a number of days corresponding to the years of his life.[1] He promoted Shaikh Ahmad Lahori "who from his princehood had filled the relationship of service and discipleship and the position of a house-born one (*Khanazada*) to the office of *Mir Adl*. Disciples and sincere followers were presented on his introduction," and *Shast u-Shibah* (token and likeness) was also given on his recommendation.[2] Promotion of such an official in the very beginning of the reign, when Khusrau had openly rebelled, indicates that Jahangir intended no reversal of Akbar's policy. He appears to be far ahead of Akbar in expecting unflinching loyalty from his *murids* (disciples) and the nobles did not fail to exploit his susceptibilities.[3]

Jahangir undoubtedly directed the Ulama and the other learned men of Islam to collect such distinctive appellations of God as were easy to remember in order that he might make them into his rosary. On Friday eves he associated himself with Alims, pious men, *Darweshes* and recluses.[4] He also rejected the doctrine of the incarnation of the holy person of the Almighty in ten different forms by the process of metempsychosis in the presence of *Pandits*.[5] He went to *Idgah* at the commencement of the Ramazan Id which followed his first accession and several lacs of *dam* were distributed in charity.[6] These professions and practices on the part of Jahangir, in the early years of his reign, on the one hand discouraged the Jesuits, who thought his conversion to Christianity as guaranteed, and on the other hand encouraged Mujaddid and people ideologically aligned with him to cherish the hope that with a little more effort Jahangir could be won over to their side. The Emperor, however, to the chagrin of the orthodox, prohibited by an

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 7-9. Compare Mujaddid's efforts regarding cow slaughter. *Infra*, p. 249.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.
3. *Supra*, p. 184.
4. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (R & B), Vol. I, p. 21.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 32.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 45-46.

imperial decree, forcible conversion to Islam at the end of the sixth year of his reign.[1]

Mujaddid's letters are undated but those of political importance appear to have been written in the early years of Jahangir's reign. Efforts to continue writing such letters was later gradually given up even in the life time of Shaikh Farid Bukhari—his main supporter. In a letter to Shaikh Farid, written in the year of Jahangir's accession, he wrote, "The Sultan in relation to the world is like the heart in relation to the body. If the heart is healthy, the body is healthy, and if the heart is sick, the body is sick. The rectitude of the world depends upon the rectitude of the ruler and his corruption amounts to the corruption of the world. What has befallen the people of Islam in the past *Qaran*[2] is well-known. Notwithstanding the presence of Islam in a foreign land, its infirmity in the previous *Qarans* was not confined to the principle, that Muslims should follow their own religion and the *kafirs* their own, as the *Quran* says : 'For you, your way, for me, my way[3].'

"In previous *Qarans* the *kafirs*, enjoying complete political ascendancy, promulgated the ordinances of *kufr* in the abode of Islam and the Muslims could not put the ordinances of Islam into practice. If they attempted to do so, they were done to death. Alas! Alas! The believers in Muhammad, the Prophet of God and beloved of the world, lived in ignominy and disgrace and those who did not believe in him were held in trust and respect. Muslims with a wounded heart lamented over this sad plight of Islam and their enemies mocked and jeered at them and thus sprinkled salt over their wounds. The sun of guidance was hidden behind the veil of error and the light of truth was shut and obscured behind the curtain of erroneous reasoning.

"Today, when the happy tidings of the downfall of the one who was prohibiting Islam (*i.e.* the death of Akbar) and the accession of the king of Islam (*i.e.* Jahangir) have reached the ears of every high and low, the Muslims have considered it obligatory to help and assist the king and guide him to promulgate the laws of *Shariat* and strengthen the faith. This support and furtherance can be achieved either by words or deeds. The highest form of help is to explain the problems of the

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 205.
2. A decade, a space of ten years, or any multiple thereof upto 120; a generation.
3. *Quran*, CIX : 6.

Holy Law and the manifestation of the beliefs based on *Kalam* in accordance with the *Quran*, the *Sunna* and the consensus of the community lest some innovator or prevaricator may mislead the people and make the matters worse and confounded.

"This type of help is peculiar to the truth-loving (or God-fearing) Ulama who look towards the invisible world. The company of the worldly-minded Ulama, who concentrated on contemptible world, is a deadly poison and their perverseness is contagious.

Couplet

'The Alim who yearns for the gratification of his desire and pampering of the body,

He is himself misguided, how can he guide others?'

"In the previous *Qaran*, every calamity had its genesis in misdeeds of these people. They misled the rulers. The seventy-two sects, who betook themselves to the road of misguidance worked under the leadership of the *Ulama i-Su*[1]. Such instances were very few when the people were misguided without them. Corruption among them was contagious.

"A majority of the ignorant ones who claim to be Sufis are like the worldly-minded Ulama. Their evil effect too is contagious. If the people possess the power to extend some kind of help, and they fail to rise to the occasion ; and schism spreads in Islam they will be held responsible for it. This humble and resourceless one also wants to include himself amongst the helpers of Islam and seeks to make strenuous efforts in this direction. One who helps in increasing the numerical strength of a nation is associated with it. This humble self prays to be enrolled in that eminent group and seeks to identify himself with that old woman who, possessing a little yarn, included herself amongst the purchasers of Joseph." Mujaddid hoped to pay a visit to the Shaikh shortly and expressed a desire that since the Almighty had bestowed upon him the Emperor's great confidence he should openly as well as secretly try to further the cause of the *Shariat* and should help the Muslims in their miserable plight.[2]

1. Wordly-minded Ulama, see *Infra*, p. 12.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 47.

On account of Shaikh Farid's devotion to Khwaja Baqi Billah, to his own self and to other eminent saints, Mujaddid wrote a number of letters to him.[1] In some of these letters Mujaddid has tried to tickle the vanity of Shaikh Farid by pointing out the Shaikh's superior birth and his duties as a descendant of Prophet Muhammad. It was also brought home to Shaikh Farid that the Naqshbandis were highly indebted to him for their very existence and popularity in India.[2] Taken as a whole the letters to Shaikh Farid cover all the important aspects of Mujaddid's teachings.

In one of his letters he has distinguished between *Tauhid i-Wujudi* and *Tauhid i-Shuhudi* at some length.[3] In another letter emphasis is laid on the superiority of *Shariat* over *Tariqat* and then that of the Alims over the Sufis.[4] In some letters excessive love of the world and inordinate attachment to desires are subjected to severe criticism and the world is represented as nothing but poison with a sugar-coating.[5] The greatest emphasis in his writings is on implicit obedience to the *Shariat* and the rectification of one's beliefs according to the canons of Sunni teachings.[6]

Letters with some political significance number not more than nine[7] and it appears that the letters were not written in succession. After one or two such letters he concentrated mainly on topics of theological interest. The letters which criticised the reign of Akbar contain a trenchant attack on the *Ulama i-Su* and misguided Sufis who, according to him, had misled the Emperor.[8] Like Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari, he likened them to the devils.[9] It was probably in the beginning of his reign that Jahangir ordered Shaikh Farid to find four Alims for his court.[10] Followers of Mujaddid and his modern apologists seek to ascribe it to the success of Mujaddid, though no such order is traceable

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 43-54, 63-64, 103, 152, 163, 165, 193, 213, 233, 269, 299.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, nos. 45, 54.
3. *Ibid.*, no, 43.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 52.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 50, 52, 64.
6. *Ibid.*, nos. 193, 218.
7. *Ibid.*, nos. 47, 48, 53, 54, 103, 163, 165, 213, 269.
8. *Ibid.*, nos. 47, 53.
9. *Supra*, p. 52,
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 53. Mujaddid in a letter to *Sadr i-Jahan* has expressed satisfaction over Jahangir's interest in the Alims (*Ibid.*, no. 194).

from other sources. On the basis of the letters of Mujaddid, they maintain that the Alims were invited to explore the possibilities of the restoration of orthodoxy. The fact that Jahangir, like his father, was interested in religious debates, should not be ignored, though like his father he was not interested in arriving at some particular truth. The commentator of the Jesuit records has pointed out, 'It amused him to listen to disputes between his *Mullas* and the Fathers, just as it amused him to watch a fencing match or a cockfight. When either side scored a point, he clapped his hands with delight, particularly if the point was scored against the *Mullas*, whose discomfiture always afforded him intense amusement."[1] It should, therefore, not be surprising to see that Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who had considerable contacts with the Sufis and the Ulama was asked to introduce four eminent Alims to the Court, who should be able to make effective contributions to the religious discussions. This news seems to have led Mujaddid to believe that Jahangir was genuinely interested in the propagation of *Shariat.* He, however, wrote to Shaikh Farid that there was a great dearth of such Alims who were devoted exclusively to the cause of religion. He was afraid that they would quarrel among themselves and would defeat the very purpose of their appointment. He pointed out that the previous reign was marked by much confusion resulting from the discussion of controversial religious issues.[2] He apprehended the repetition of the same situation with every possibility of its culminating in ruinous consequences. He advised Shaikh Farid to insist on introducing only one Alim, genuinely interested in orthodoxy, rather than four. The company of such an Alim, he believed, would act like a philosopher's stone.[3] In two other letters he preached the outright humiliation and destruction of the *kafirs*[4] and Shias.[5]

It was probably in the sixth year of Jahangir's reign, subsequent to Shaikh Farid Bukhari's appointment as Governor of the Punjab, that

1. *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (Introduction), pp. XVIII-XIX.
2. *cf. Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh,* Vol. II, pp. 199-205. "All at once one night the vein of the neck of the *Ulama* of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Badauni), 'In future report any of the *Ulama* who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves, and I shall make him leave the hall.' I said gently to Asaf Khan, 'If I carried out this order, most of the *Ulama* would have to leave'." (Lowe, p. 205).
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. I, Letter no. 53.
4. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, Letter no. 65.
5. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, Letter no. 54.

Mujaddid addressed a letter to the Shaikh bewailing the pitiable condition of Islam on the one hand and encouraging him on the other to treat the *kafirs* like dogs, for *kufr* and Islam he considered diametrically opposed to each other, and also deemed the honour of Islam as dependent upon heaping humiliation and insults upon *kufr* and the *kafirs*. He, however, sought consolation in the belief that as the Emperor was not much interested in *kafirs*, it was essential that the evil of their practices should be brought home to him. Shaikh Farid was advised to persuade some Muslim Alims to condemn the *kafirs* publicly and propagate the principles of *Shara*. Mujaddid requested him neither to mix with the Hindus nor to have any public dealings with them. However, if he thought it necessary to assign some jobs to them, care should be taken not to repose any trust in them.[1]

It would be worthwhile to examine, at this stage, the extent to which Shaikh Farid Bukhari could come up to Mujaddid's expectations. Liberal and munificent[2] as he was, like other contemporary nobles, he was not only responsible for the construction of a number of buildings of public utility, mosques, inns, *khanqahs* and tanks,[3] but also made suitable provisions for them. He appointed *Imams* and *Muazzins* to the mosques and fixed stipends for saints and pious Muslims; but his finance department, like those of other nobles, remained in the control of the Hindus. The loyalty to his duties of Rai Lakhmi (Lakshmi) Das Kayath Karori, who was responsible for making the arrangements for the *Madad i-Maash* of *Makhadim*, saints and scholars, was often a source of trouble to them.[4] Dwarka Das, his *Bakhshi*, was likewise looked upon with disfavour by the recipients of stipends.[5] According to Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, the author of *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, who intimately knew Shaikh Farid Bukhari, the latter could not give up the vice of drinking though of course the Alims and physicians came to

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 193 : *cf.* Vol. I, Letter nos. 163, 165.
2. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, pp. 138-140.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 145.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 139. Abbas Khan Sarwani has given a vivid account of the fraudulent *Madad i-Maash* holders and the legislations which Sher Shah had to introduce to exercise a check on them. (*Tuhfa i-Akbar Shahi*, India Office Mss., ff. 112b-113a).
5. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, p. 142. It is not unlikely that the *kafirs* whom Mujaddid condemned were the loyal Hindu officials of Shaikh Farid who judiciously administered his funds in ways other than the orthodox recipients of grants wished for.

his rescue and legalised it. Also, he has accused Farid Bukhari of cruelty and being vindictive in nature.[1] He could not exercise proper control over his more reckless attendants and relatives in Ahmadabad, who revelled in tyranny over the common people. He was consequently transferred by the Emperor at the end of the third regnal year.[2] Lahore, which was assigned to him in the sixth regnal year,[3] was a strong centre of pantheistic mysticism due to the influence of Miyan Mir and his disciples.[4] With a record of inefficiency to his credit, Shaikh Farid could hardly dare to enforce such unwise steps as Mujaddid advised. S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid remark that, "Shaikh Farid did not accept the Mujaddid's extremist point of view—and in some of his letters the Mujaddid has expressed his disappointment on his failures and omissions."[5] In view of the fact that Mujaddid's letters failed to evoke enthusiasm of a devoted follower like Shaikh Farid, the following observations of the above scholars, regarding the importance of Mujaddid's letters, seem nothing but rhetorical flourishes. "He began addressing letters written in a language which would move mountains to different 'pillars of the State' bemoaning the sad state in which Islam had fallen in India, and reminding them their duty."[6] Further, "These letters were not meant only for individuals to whom they were addressed. They were really 'open letters' and copies of these letters—not less forceful than the poems with which Byron tried to engender enthusiasm for the cause of Greek independence.....were soon made out....and otherwise given wide circulation."[7]

The kernel of Mujaddid's political mission may be noticed in his letter addressed to Lala Beg Kabuli who had received the title of 'Baz Bahadur' in Akbar's reign. One month after the accession of Jahangir his rank of 1500 was raised to 4000 and he was promoted as the Governor of the *Suba* of Bihar, and the title of Jahangir Quli Khan was also given to him. His lineage was made an excuse for this rapid promotion as also his devotion to Jahangir during the latter's princehood.[8] Mujaddid probably wrote to him in Patna. The province

1. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 153.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 198.
4. *Infra*, Chapter VIII.
5. *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, p. 273.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
8. He belonged to the lineage of the special attendants of the Emperor's family and his father Nizam was librarian to Humayun. (*Tuzuk*, R & B, Vol. I, p. 21).

was the homeland of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari, whose successors exercised considerable influence over the region, fostering the principles of 'peace with all' there. The nature of Mujaddid's early association with Lala Beg Kabuli or Jahangir Quli Khan is not known. Naqshbandi sources are silent about the matter but he appears to have gained a considerable reputation for his orthodoxy. It is said that he had employed one hundred *Hafizs* who daily finished several readings of the *Quran*.[1]

In the letter to Lala Beg, Mujaddid pointed out to him that for the last *Qaran* or so, the *kafirs* were not satisfied with the mere promulgation of the practice of the *kufr* but they even desired total abolition of Islamic practices and complete annihilation of all traces of Muslims and Islam in India; the things had reached such a pass that if the Muslims practised the Islamic rites they were beheaded. In this letter he expressed hopes for making efforts towards the revival of the practice of the imposition of *jizya* as well as of cow-slaughter and laid much stress on the latter. He warned him that it would be better if Islam was popularised and the Muslims attained to supreme authority in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, otherwise that would lead to much confusion and complication.[2]

Jahangir had given him unlimited powers probably for the realization of huge arrears which had accumulated under his predecessor Asaf Khan.[3] An imperial order empowered Jahangir Quli to put to sword every such *jagirdar* in his province as dared flout his orders, or tended to show disobedience to him. Jahangir Quli appears to have used his powers without much prudence. The very first year of Jahangir's reign was marked by the revolt of Raja Sangram, the *zamindar* of Kharagpur, who had in the reign of Akbar faithfully served him and was regarded by Todar Mal as a son. Sangram was wounded by a gun shot and succumbed to his injuries. In the second regnal year Jahangir Quli was transferred to the governorship of Bengal on account of the death of Qutb ud-Din Khan Koka, who was slain by Sher Afgan

Under Mirza Hakim he held the post of *Chiraghchi* (*Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 512). Lala Beg was one of the *Khanazadas* of Mirza Hakim and joined Akbar's service after the death of the Mirza. Akbar made him over to Prince Salim. (*Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 512-513).

1. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 513-514.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 81.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 48.

Istajlu. Jahangir Quli started his governorship in Bengal seemingly by introducing many administrative changes, but death laid its icy hands upon him during the 3rd regnal year of Jahangir's reign (1017/1608).[1] The defalcations of *zamindars* made Jahangir Quli resort to severe measures, which in certain cases seem to have verged on to cruelty and brutality, but Mujaddid's hands in the dealings can by no stretch of imagination be traced.

Miran Sadr i-Jahan was also one of the disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah who was recommended by him to Mujaddid for further training. In the collection of Mujaddid's letters only two letters addressed to him are available. In one of these Qazi Yusuf, whose ancestors had held the post of *Qazi* in Sirhind for a very long time, was recommended for appointment to that post, for it had been lying vacant for the past few years. To give more strength to the recommendation it was pointed out that the appointment of the *Qazis* was one of the symbols of Islam. In the preface of the letter hopes were expressed that "Jahangir's reign will be favourable to the propagation of *Shariat* and the fallen pillars of Islam shall be re-erected." Also he was informed that the indignities and insults suffered by Islam during the previous *Qarans* were still fresh in the minds of the people and they were haunted by the apprehension that Islam, far from being compensated for the loss of its prestige, was likely to be lowered more and more in the eyes of the people. He expressed his feelings in the words : "If the propagation of Islam fails to become the immediate and the main concern of the king, and if his favourite officials likewise care more for their personal comforts than for religion, the affairs of the poor Muslims will come to a more deplorable plight."[2]

This letter and a letter previous to this[3], included in the collection of his *Maktubat*, seem to have been written shortly after the accession of Jahangir. In the previous letter Mujaddid had informed Sadr i-Jahan that he was likely to reach Agra after Ramazan. It appears to have been written following a rumour that Jahangir intended to appoint some Alims who were required to advise him on matters relating to *Shara*. Dilating upon the havoc done by the *Ulama i-Su*, Mujaddid exhorted to pay due attention to the selection of the Ulama. The letter is prefaced

1. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 512-513 ; Vol. II, p. 218.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 195.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 194.

with an expression of Mujaddid's inability to be of any help in the furtherance of true faith and of hopes which he pinned on nobles, Saiyids and Ulama.[1] It is strange that this hope was extended to one who himself was included amongst *Ulama i-Su* by no less a person than Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni. He says, "After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his time-serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world."[2]

Sadr i-Jahan belonged to Pihani, now in Hardoi district, of U. P. He was descended from Mir Saiyid Ahmad Manjhle, an eminent Alim of Qannauj, who was the only scholar who had refused to sign the *fatwas* of the Alims and Sufis of Qannauj who proposed severe actions against Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri on account of his joining the group of Holi revellers.[3] Amongst the descendants of Mir Saiyid Ahmad Manjhle was one Mir Saiyid Sadr ud-Din, who rose to great eminence in the reign of Sultan Sikandar and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.[4]

He acted with single-minded devotion towards Akbar and also towards Jahangir before the latter's accession. While Akbar was marching against Mirza Hakim, Sadr i-Jahan was sent in advance in September 1585 from Thaneswar to proceed quickly to Kabul to instil confidence and hope in the people in regard to Akbar.[5] In August 1586, he was sent on an embassy to Turan along with Hakim Hamam in order that "they might impress upon Abdullah Khan the choice qualities of the *Shahinshah*".[6] After his return from Turan he was appointed *Sadr*. He and Mir Abdul Hai, the *Mir Adl*, are described in the *Akbar Nama* as having joined a drinking party in the feast of the month of Aban (Nov. 1589). Abul Fazl says, "In the feast of this month, sense increasing wine was drunk, and Mir Sadr Jahan Mufti and Mir Abdul Hai, the *Mir Adl*, also quaffed their cups. This verse was quoted by His Majesty :—

Verse

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 194.
2. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 141 ; Haig, p. 199.
3. *Supra*, p. 59.
4. *Mirat ul-Asar*, ff. 452a-452b. Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti ascribed the material prosperity of Mir Saiyid Ahmad Manjhle and his descendents to the blessings of Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri.
5. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 468.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 497.

"In the era of the fault-forgiving king,

The *Qazi* drained flagons, the *Mufti* quaffed cups."[1]

He also accompanied Akbar on his Asirgarh expedition and was sent in advance to Bahadur Khan in 1600 to effect negotiations with him.[2] When prince Salim was ordered to go back to Allahabad from Etawah in 1602, and was not allowed to go to the court, he submitted his apologies through him.[3] He always displayed a profound sense of loyalty towards Jahangir. The Emperor (Jahangir) says, "I knew Miran Sadr i-Jahan from my childhood, when I used to read the *Chihl Hadis* under Shaikh Abdun Nabi, whose history is given in detail in the *Akbar Nama*. I regarded him as my monitor.[4] From those early days till now Miran Sadr i-Jahan has acted towards me with single-minded loyalty. Whilst I was prince and before my revered father's illness, and during that time, when the pillars of the state and the high nobles were shaken (in their loyalty) and each had conceived some idea of gain for himself and wished to become the originator of some act which could only bring ruin on the state, he had not failed in the activity of his service and devotedness." He promoted him from the rank of 2000 to that of 4000. In the 3rd year of his reign the Emperor raised him

1. *Akbar Nama,* Vol. III, p 582; Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 881. An anecdote from *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni will further illustrate the approach of Miran Sadr i-Jahan towards religious matters as well as bring out the opinion of some of his contemporaries about him. He says, "At the time when it was noised abroad in Lahore that those who remained of the *Ulama* were to be banished to Makkah the glorious, and a list of them has been prepared, the Sadr i-Jahan said one day, 'I fear lest I may have been included in this class'. Mirza Nizam ud-Din Ahmad, who had prepared the list, said, 'Why should you be sent to Makkah ?' The Sadr i-Jahan asked the Mirza, why he needed to ask the question, and the Mirza replied, 'You have never given utterance to God's words that you should be worthy of this banishment'." (Abdul Qadir Badauni: *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh,* Vol. III, p. 141; Haig, p. 199).
2. *Akbar Nama,* Vol. III, p. 767.
3. *Takmila i-Akbar Nama,* p. 800.
4. میران صدرجہان راکہ ازایام طفولیت دروقتیکہ درس چہل حدیث درخدمت شیخ عبدالغنی (عبدالنبی) کہ ذکراحوال اودراکبر نامہ بہ تفصیل مزکوراست می‌خواندم واو رابہ منزلۂ خلیفۂ خودمی دانستم تاامروز درمقام اخلاص ویکجہتی بود ازمنصب دوہزاری بہ منصب چہار ہزاری رسانیدم

Tuzuk i-Jahangiri (Sir Saiyid Edition), p. 9.

The translation of this sentence in Roger's and Beveridge's English version is a bit confusing: "I knew him in my childhood when I read the Forty Saying's with Shaikh Abd un-Nabi, whose history is given in detail in the *Akbar Nama.*

to the rank of 5,000 *Zat* and 1,500 *Sawar*.[1] Miran Sadr i-Jahan was a great public benefactor.[2] He lived to the age of 120 years and died in 1020/1611. In his old age he was reduced to a skeleton and was permanently bedridden, but when he came to the Emperor's presence, his frail structure derived strength from his love of dignity and enabled him to keep on his legs for long periods and to come and go by steps without any assistance. Shah Nawaz Khan has also quoted a verse which corroborates Badauni's views about him.

Verse

"Out of weakness he cannot stand up for prayers.

But before the King he remains standing till night without a staff."[3]

Old and decrepit as he was, he was hardly capable of taking any independent line of action and persuading Jahangir to shape the policy of the state on the lines desired by Mujaddid. He was too shrewd even to pay heed to Mujaddid's teachings and the latter did not himself find any use in wasting his energies over him.

Khan i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka was the other important noble whom Mujaddid wished to attract to his side. Only two letters written to him

From these early days till now Miran Sadr i-Jahan has acted towards me wth single-minded loyalty, and I regard him as my preceptor in religious matters (*Khalifa.*)" Since Miran Sadr i-Jahan was a senior disciple of Shaikh Abdun Nabi, here 'monitor' is more suitable. (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, R & B, p. 22). It is said that the prince was very fond of him. One day he promised the Saiyid that if he became the king, he would pay off his debts or give him whatever office he desired. (*Maasir ul-Umara*, Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Vol. II, p. 79).

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), p. 140.

2. During his tenure of office as the *Sadr* of Jahangir, he is said to have given away so many maintenance-lands that Asaf Khan Jafar reported to the King that "Miran had given away in five years what Akbar had granted in fifty years." (*Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 349-350).

3. *Ibid.*, pp.350-351 ; Baini Prasad, Vol. II, p. 80.
Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti has summed up his character as follows :

دریں چہار دانگ ہندوستان دست اوبرہمہ کس فرا رسید و دینار اباعقلی جمع کردہ دنیا خورد وعقبیٰ برد

"In the four quarters of Hindustan the hands of his munificence reached every individual. He acquired worldly riches with the bliss of the future world. He consumed worldly riches (in his life time) and took the bliss of the future world with him." (*Mirat ul-Asrar*, f. 452a).

by Mujaddid are available in the first volume of his *Maktubat.* The second letter is very formal and reiterates in brief the intimate relations of the Naqshbandis with the companions of Prophet Muhammad and asserts the superiority of the Naqshbandi order.[1]

The first letter is, however, of considerable interest. It was apparently written from Agra or Delhi, both of which Mujaddid probably visited, and he availed himself of the opportunity to tender some useful advice in the letter. It indicates that Mujaddid did not visit Khan i-Azam but found solace in writing a letter to him as his co-religionist. This letter breathes an air of apprehension about Islam being still relegated to the alleged humiliating position it had occupied in the past. He lamented, "The state of affairs has come to such a pass that the *kafirs* openly ridicule Islam and abuse the Muslims. They fearlessly perform the ceremonies of the *kufr* in every street and bazaar. Such liberty, on the contrary, has been denied to the followers of Islam ; instead they are reviled for obeying the *Shariat.* Hostility towards the religion of Muhammad was prominently noticeable in the previous reign but in the present regime there is apparently no such hostility and if it is at all traceable, it may be ascribed to the ignorance of the people. But the situation is still far from affording any complacency in respect of giving due place to Islam, rather it is fraught with every possibility of forcing Islam to revert back to its pitiable condition of the previous reign."

Mujaddid argued in this letter that the *Shara* was beneath the sword and its glory depended on the rulers. He expressed great regrets over the far-reaching changes, against this maxim, which had taken place. He did not miss any opportunity to tickle Khan i-Azam's vanity by informing him that he regarded Mirza's existence as a great boon to Islam as he was possessed of frenzy which was so needed for the protection of Islam. He drew Mirza's attention to the fact that he (Mirza) was in a position to perform the *Jihad i-Qauli* which was superior to *Jihad* with sword and was similar to *Jihad i-Akbar*[2]. Mujaddid

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Letter no. 66.
2. *Jihad* literally means efforts or striving; technically, a religious war with those who are unbelievers in the mission of Muhammad is a *Jihad. Jihad i-Qauli* means efforts through speech. *Jihad* is divided into two categories: (1) *Jihad i-Asghar* or the lesser warfare is war against infidels, while (2) *Jihad i-Akbar* is a war against one's own lusts.

went to the extent of asserting that the Almighty had imparted the utmost effect to his words. Mirza was informed that his zeal for the protection of the honour of Islam was known to his contemporaries and he was exhorted to contribute his best in eradicating such of the practices of *kufr* as had been adopted by the Muslims.[1]

This letter hardly needs any comment. Mirza Aziz Koka never took part in any diplomatic manoeuvring. His outspokenness was proverbial.[2] He always remained very frank in his dealings ; 'time-serving' was quite foreign to his temperament.[3] But he was an orthodox Muslim at heart and his initial reaction to Akbar's religious policy was unfavourable, so much so that he stopped shaving his beard and even left India on the pretext of pilgrimage only to meet with disillusionment there. Meanwhile he seems to have been satisfied with the explanations of Shaikh Abul Fazl regarding the four degrees of discipleship.[4] After his return from Mecca he got himself enrolled amongst the band of Akbar's disciples and even performed *Sijda*. Nevertheless, he in 1601 put obstacles to the proselytising activities of the Christians, contrary to the Emperor's orders in favour of the missionaries.[5] He did not hesitate to visit Gosain Jadrup at Mathura in 1619 to seek his blessings for the release of Khusrau.[6] Like other nobles of Akbar's and Jahangir's reigns he was interested in religious discussions insofar as they helped him understand the basic differences between different religions and sects. In 1623 he requested an

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 65.
2. One night Jahangir asked Aziz Koka's son Jahangir Quli Khan, "Will you become a surety for your father ?" Jahangir Quli replied, "I am surety for his property and life, but I cannot be surety for his tongue." (*Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, Vol. I, p. 92).
3. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, Vol. I, p. 93. During the period when the family of Itimad ud-Daula was at the zenith of their power, Mirza Aziz did not visit them nor would he send his sons and *Wakils* to the house of Nur Jahan Begam. On the other hand Khan i-Khanan used to go to the house of even Rai Goverdhan Das, the *Diwan* of Itimad ud-Daula, for the fulfilment of his needs.
4. Abul Fazl : *Insha i-Abul Fazl*, Vol. I, Letter to Mirza Aziz Koka.
5. Payne, G. H. : *Akbar and the Jesuits* (London, 1926), p. 158.
6. Mutamad Khan : *Iqbal Nama i-Jahangiri* (*Bib. Ind.*), *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 258-259. He used to say that, "I am willing that (the fates) should convey the good news of his (Khusrau) sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left year." (*Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, p. 92).

English factor who visited Ahmadabad to explain to him the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.[1]

Mujaddid wrote to Mirza Aziz Koka too, in the early part of the reign of the Emperor, who was then bitterly opposed to the Khan i-Azam on account of the efforts which he was making for the enthronement of his son-in-law, Khusrau. A letter, he wrote to Raja Ali Khan, ruler of Khandesh, had already been brought to light in the first year of Jahangir's reign which had exasperated the Emperor.[2] Though occasionally restored to favour, he could never gain the confidence of the Emperor. His outspokenness could never make his *Jihad i-Qauli* successful. On the other hand, if he were to make any efforts along the lines suggested by Mujaddid he was likely to bungle with the cause. This letter is not followed up by other similar letters as is found in the case of Shaikh Farid Bukhari and the Khan i-Khanan. It may, therefore, safely be assumed that, having obtained no response from Khan i-Azam, Mujaddid found no use in pressing the matter any further.

Muhammad Qulij Khan and Khwaja i-Jahan are two other nobles to whom Mujaddid wrote similar letters. The only letter which Mujaddid seems to have written to him was penned when Qulij Khan was Governor of the Punjab.[3] It extols his efforts in promulgating a large number of the ordinances of *Shara* there. He informed him that Lahore was a *Qutb* of guidance and remarked that the city had widely diffused its blessings to all the cities of India and that the progress attained to there would verily influence other places.[4]

Muhammad Qulij Khan[5] was already seventy-three years old when he was appointed Governor of the Punjab. Pious and inclined towards asceticism, he was devoted to Khwaja Baqi Billah, and was an orthodox Sunni. He constantly kept himself occupied in theological studies and exerted himself to the utmost in the furtherance of the cause of religion. It is said that the people of Lahore, in order to gain his

1. Fostor, W. : *The English Factories in India* 1622-1623, (Oxford, 1908).
2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R &B), pp. 80-81.
3. He was appointed Governor of Lahore in second regnal year. (*Tuzuk*, R & B, p. 135) and was transferred to Kabul in sixth regnal year. (*Tuzuk*, R & B, pp. 198-199). He was succeeded by Shaikh Farid.
4. *Maktubat i- Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 76.
5. He belonged to the Jani Qurbani tribe and had served Akbar very faithfully, who held him in great confidence.

favour, began to evince interest in the study of theology. The Khan himself devoted some portion of the day in a *madrasah*, to the study of theology, commentaries and traditions.[1] Nobody, however, could be more happy on the news than Mujaddid, but the outward show of religiosity amongst those who stood in need of his patronage was very short-lived, for we find Mujaddid complaining again to his successor, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, against the unsatisfactory state of affairs there[2]. Two letters written by Mujaddid to Khwaja i-Jahan are only recommendatory ones.[3] First letter recommends an additional *madad i-maash* to the son of the deceased Shaikh Sultan[4] and the second letter recommends Miyan Shaikh Zakariya, a former *Karori* who was undergoing imprisonment. He was recommended *madad i-maash* on account of his old age and learning. Since a simple letter of recommendation to an important dignitary from a Sufi had no meaning at all, blessings and theological aphorisms were also communicated to him. This letter emphasises the importance of obedience to the *Shariat* in general and the payment of *zakat* in particular.[5]

Khwaja i-Jahan was *Diwan* to Jahangir, when the latter was heir-apparent, as well as his father-in-law. After his accession, Jahangir promoted him from one rank to another and finally to 5,000 *Zat* and 3,000 *Sawar*. He was occasionally given independent charge of Agra and remained the *Faujdar* of the district for a very long time. Though his innate qualities and abilities did not impress Jahangir, the Emperor did not exclude him from his favour.[6] He was a keen student of the *Masnawi* of Maulana Rum, which was read in his assemblage for four *gharis*.[7] Despite his devotion to mysticism and control over Agra, Mujaddid did not, surprisingly enough, consider it necessary to inject the communal virus in him. Possibly he knew that one devoted to Maulana Rum could hardly pay attention to him.

Mujaddid apparently wrote to Khan i-Jahan after 1025/1616, for letters to him do not find any place in the first volume of his *Maktubat*.

1. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript).
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 193, 213.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter nos. 25, 72.
4. *Ibid*, Letter no. 25.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 72.
6. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 57; Vol. II, p. 121-122.
7. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript).

He wrote him only twice. One letter is included in the second volume and the other in the third. The former is an exhaustive discussion on the twenty-five articles of the Sunni faith. This letter recommends itself to particular study in the background of Khan i-Jahan's religious beliefs. Though the Afghans in general followed the Sunni creed, Khan i-Jahan's father Daulat Khan belonged to the *Isna Ashari* Shia faith and believed that there could be no courage without submission to Murtaza Ali. Khan i-Jahan's companionship with Shaikh Fazlullah of Burhanpur had imbued him with a firm faith in *Wahdat ul-Wujud*. He was particularly inclined to the 'people of Iran',[1] though he himself followed the Sunni creed.

It, therefore, devolved upon Mujaddid to try to confirm him in the faith of the Sunnis which he sought by impressing upon him the necessity to rectify one's faith in accordance with the beliefs of the Sunnis in order to attain salvation. All the beliefs contrary to Sunni faith he considered deadly poison which caused eternal damnation and perpetual torture. Contrasting indifference to action with indifference to belief, he asserted that "a man guilty of the former may hope for salvation but its doors are closed upon the one who is guilty of the latter."[2] The controversy of *Khilafat* and *Imamat* are dealt with in articles twenty-one to twenty-four. Though Mujaddid informed him that the controversy in question did not belong to the fundamentals of Sunni faith, the Sunni Alims had included its discussion under *Kalam*. Mujaddid laboured hard to prove that Ali had himself declared that those who considered him superior to Abu Bakr and Umar were inventors of falsehood and as such should be scourged. He also related anecdotes bringing out the fact that Prophet Muhammad had obtained an understanding from Ali which ran, "I would be succeeded by Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman successively and after these by you." It seems that these articles of faith and the Sunni point of view regarding the appearance of the Mahdi were written to him with a view to deterring him from believing in the superiority of Ali and to weaning him away from his Shia leanings.

This letter reiterates his theory that, "The sultan in relation to the world is like the soul in relation to the body. If the soul is

1. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript), ff. 64a-64b; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 731.
2. It may be noted that he was a very heavy drunkard but gave up drinking in 1620-21 on account of severe illness. (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, R & B, Vol. II, p. 165).

healthy, the body is healthy, if the soul is corrupt, the body degenerates. To make efforts for the reform of the sultan is akin to reforming and improving the conditions of the world. The reform of the sultan lies in reminding him time and again, in a manner suiting the occasion, of his duties towards Islam. The beliefs of Sunnis should occasionally be dinned into his ears, refuting at the same time the beliefs of the opponents of the Sunnis." Also, he sought to impress upon him that "no wise man ever likes *kufr*, hence its falsity should fearlessly be exposed and their false gods be unhesitatingly condemned.[1]

Many letters in the same vein were addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari ; but since this letter to Khan i-Jahan was not followed by another one, it becomes obvious that it hardly cut any ice. A second letter appears to have been written by Mujaddid after 1028/1618-1619, probably after his imprisonment. In this letter he argued that the pleasures and enjoyments of the transitory world were agreeable if they were done in accordance with the *Shariat*; otherwise they should be treated as sugarcoated pills of poison. Also he wrote that salvation was certain if caution was observed in performing worldly deeds in accordance with the injunctions of the *Shariat*; but even the slightest negligence might deprive the doer of the everlasting gift. He advised that the people should employ their intellect and discharge their duties in conformity to the regulations of the *Shara*, because only in that way would they be performing the duties similar to those of the Prophets and furthering the cause of the faith. He maintained that if *Faqirs* like him were to make strenuous efforts for years, they as compared to him would not be able to achieve any success.[2]

This letter is ample testimony to the fact that the cause which Mujaddid took up in the early part of Jahangir's reign was not given up till the end, but he learned the futility of the invectives. The hopes nurtured in the early part of Jahangir's reign remained unfulfilled till the end of his life; hence his former enthusiasm cooled down. He would be content if the nobles performed their duties within the bounds of the *Shariat*.

Letters[3] written by Mujaddid to Khan i-Khanan, his son Mirza Darab and some other unimportant personalities are different in nature

1. *Maktubat i- Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 67.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Letter no. 54.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol I, Letter nos. 23, 67-70, 191, 198, 214, 232, 268 ; Vol. II, 62 and 66.

from the letters discussed earlier. Khan i-Khanan was a man of a very broad humanitarian outlook and liberal religious leanings. He was well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindi ; his liberality and magnanimity were proverbial in India. Though his father was a Shia, he professed to be a Sunni but people generally believed that he practised *Taqiya.* He showed veneration and sympathy to the recluses and *Darweshes* of all sects and creeds. He was interested in all types of religious movements and had acquired knowledge of them from the highest known authorities of each movement ; but it was the policy of 'peace with all' which dominated his outlook. It should therefore not be at all surprising to see that he patronised Mujaddid's *Khalifa,* Mir Muhammad Numan, and tried to study the Mujaddid's view-point sympathetically and dispassionately.

The letters written by Mujaddid to Khan i-Khanan exhibit the constant struggle which Mujaddid had to wage to convince him of the correctness of his approach to Islam. These letters neither strongly condemn the previous reign or past *Qarans* nor do they preach the outright persecution and annihilation of Hindus and Shias, though the latter held great supremacy in the Deccan.

Mujaddid's dissatisfaction with the form of address used by Khan i-Khanan is evident from one of his earlier letters written probably in the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign when Khan i-Khanan had gone to the Imperial Court from Burhanpur to wait on the Emperor. Mujaddid had also reached Agra but could not get access to Khan i-Khanan on account of the 'machinations' of the latter's counsellors whom Mujaddid very bitterly criticised. He impressed upon him the advisability of selecting the proper type of counsellors and companions.[1] In an earlier letter he had pointed out the evils of obtaining mystic training under imperfect guides and had expressed great astonishment over a Saiyid poet, who was his companion, adopting 'Kufri' as his *takhallus.* Mujaddid advised Khan i-Khanan to prevail upn the poet to adopt 'Islami' as his *takhallus.* He was also informed that the expressions comprising the encomiums of *kufr* and the Brahminical thread etc. used by the mystics under *Sukr* (intoxication) should not be interpreted in their literal sense and must not be used by the people who did not belong to that class.[2]

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. I, Letter no. 68.
2. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, Letter no. 23.

The subsequent letters do not contain complaint about the lack of consideration or courtesy on the part of Khan i-Khanan, rather he blessed him for having changed his attitude. In a letter, Khan i-Khanan was informed that the counsels which he sought were available in the works of eminent Alims and Sufis and that he should implicitly obey the laws of the Sunni sect. He also informed him that copies of his works might have been taken to him and he might have studied them.[1]

In another letter he was advised to act in accordance with the *fatwas* of religious-minded Ulama[2] and to perform other religious obligations prescribed for Muslims, for they were very convenient. He was discouraged from performing and believing in ascetic exercises and self mortification, for they, Mujaddid held, got those, who performed them, nowhere, even if they practised them for a thousand years. People had to strictly observe the *Shariat.*[3] In some letters repentance, piety, and resignation were also preached with pointed emphasis on the transitory nature of the world.[4] In a letter he expressed deep concern over the wrong motives which the people imputed towards the friendship of the *Darweshes* with the well-to-do.[5] Criticism of the worldly-minded Ulama in the letters addressed to Khan i-Khanan is not very severe and the *Tauhid i-Shuhudi* is briefly explained in some letters.[6]

In a letter Mujaddid claimed that about a year back he was informed by his disciple Mir Muhammad Numan that the *Subedari* of the Deccan was being transferred to someone else and he was requested to pray for him. In compliance with Mir Muhammad Numan's request, he offered prayers and paid attention towards Khan i-Khanan's affairs and found him a man of high and exalted position. The Mir was informed accordingly.[7] Disciples of Mujaddid regarded this as one of the greatest miracles.[8] Khan i-Khanan was recalled from the Deccan more than once on account of court intrigues but each time he had to be sent back to take over the command of the Deccan due to his being indispensable in that territory. He thus owned the *Subedari* of

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 69.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 70, 268.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 191.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 214, 232 ; Vol. II, no. 66.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 198; Vol. II, no. 62.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 268.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, no. 62.
8. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 277.

Deccan more to his extraordinary ability and command over the situation obtaining there than to any blessing, but Mujaddid did not fail to exploit the situation to his advantage. The claim of the followers of Mujaddid that Khan i-Khanan was particularly attached to his *Silsila* does not deserve much credence ; for the latter always paid due consideration to the Sufis and *Darweshes* of all castes and creeds and there was nothing unique in his relations with Khwaja Baqi Billah or Mujaddid.

Mujaddid wrote four letters to Mirza Darab, son of Khan i-Khanan.[1] They deal with theological and Sufic problems of a very general nature and are of no political significance. The first letter exhorts him to act according to the advice of the *Mujtahids* of the Sunnis. It discourages ascetic exercises and austere religious practices on the plea that no benefit could be gained from the performance of such practices as obtained among the Hindu Brahmins. (Curiously enough Greek philosophers are also bracketed with the Brahmins). They could not get any advantage of their efforts nor could they expect salvation on the Day of Judgment simply because the practices ran counter to the commandments of the Prophet.[2] The second letter condemns worldly glory and authorities and compares the world to sugarcoated poisonous pills or guilded filth.[3] The third letter emphasises implicit obedience to Prophet Muhammad as the only way to achieve salvation.[4] The fourth letter in Volume II extols the virtues of Mirza Darab and his ancestors on account of their devotion to the Sufis. It lays emphasis on the necessity of a perfect guide and deals with *Fana Fillah*[5] and *Baqa Billah*[6], but warns him against those who had made Sufism a profession to gain their own selfish ends.

Mirza Darab attained the rank of 1000 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar* in the fifth year of Jahangir's reign[7] and served in Deccan alongwith his father.[8] In the 14th year of Jahangir's reign he was promoted to the rank of 5,000

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 71, 215, 249; Vol. II, no. 78.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 71.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 215.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 249.
5. "Total absorption into Allah". It is one of the highest stages of the Sufic journey.
6. "Union with the Divine consciousness," the very goal of the mystic journey.
7. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 180.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 313.

Zat after the death of his brother Shah Nawaz.[1] In the war between Jahangir and prince Khurram, he, on account of his vacillating nature, was put to death at the instance of Jahangir in 1034/1625.[2] His head was severed from his body and sent to his captive father. Though a young man of excellent qualities, a prudent leader and a brave man, he was not, like his father, a student of comparative religious systems. He was interested in theological problems insofar as they helped him in the purification of his soul, and could hardly have been of any help to Mujaddid in the propagation of the latter's mission.

He wrote a few letters to some unimportant nobles and disgruntled officers. He addressed two letters full of praise for the virtues of the Saiyids to Shaikh Abdul Wahhab.[3] He wrote a letter to recommend one Mir Ahmad for an increment of stipend.[4] Shaikh Abdul Wahhab, a Bukhari Saiyid, held the post of the Governor of Delhi in Akbar's reign but was dismissed from his post by Jahangir and was enrolled amongst the class of the holders of subsistence land and the *Arbab i-Saadat*.[5] Two letters containing nothing but exhortations to obey the *Shariat*[6] and rectify one's beliefs in accordance with the tenets of the Sunni Ulama[7] were addressed to Mirza Badi uz-Zaman. The authorship of these letters appears to date back to the early part of Jahangir's reign. Mirza Badi uz-Zaman was deputed to the province of Malwa in the second year of Jahangir's reign but he joined the Rana. This defection resulted in his recall to the Imperial Court.[8] But fortunately for him he escaped the unhappy consequences of the rebellion, and was restored to royal favour, although the stigma of disloyalty stood in his way to promotion beyond 1500 *Zat* and 1000 *Sawar*.[9]

Letters to Mirza Fathullah Khan Hakim or Hakim Fathullah Gilani are polemical. The first of the three letters written to the former deals with the superiority of the Sunni sect over all the seventy-three sects of Islam, which claim to achieve salvation on the Day of Judgment, and vehemently criticises the

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 88.
2. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Mss.).
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 55-56.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 56.
5. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 75.
6. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 74.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 75.
8. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 127.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 360.

Shias, *Kharjis* and *Mutazilas*. The Shias, who revile the first three Caliphs and claim that Ali, in not opposing the first three Caliphs during their reign, performed *Taqiya*, were the main target of his criticism.[1] The second letter emphasises the importance of congregational prayers.[2] The third letter, probably written after a considerable time, shows that he and the *Qazi* of Sunam had severed their connections with Mujaddid under the influence of the propaganda carried on to assert that Mujaddid considered himself superior to Abu Bakr. Mujaddid, with a view to refuting the charge, wrote to him, "Only a few years back I have thrown light in my letter to you on the belief of the Sunnis ; but it is surprising that you still believe in such things. I consider that if one prefers Ali over Abu Bakr he cannot be called a Sunni. But if one tries to place himself on a higher pedestal to Abu Bakr, he paves the way to his doom." In this letter Mujaddid pointed out that many undesirable elements had got mixed up with the Naqshbandi Silsila which he tried to eradicate and ridiculed the Shattaris who adhered to *Dawat i-Isma*.[3]

In a very short letter to one Bahadur Khan, who was for some time Governor of Qandahar,[4] he advised him to adorn his outward behaviour with the *Shariat* and to keep his heart always on the Almighty.[5] This letter is not followed by any other letter, nor perhaps did he ever answer the aforesaid letter. Similarly a single letter to Hakim Sadr is also available in the first volume of his *Maktubat*.[6]

Mere writing of letters to important nobles and grandees on the part of Mujaddid does not necessarily mean that they were his disciples or that they were influenced by the polemics he wrote. Writing of letters by Sufis and Alims to the kings and nobles was not an unusual practice. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh wrote letters to Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Babur and Humayun, emphasising the importance of giving protection to the *Shariat*, Ulama, and Sufis. His letter to Babur, who was a new comer to India and with whom Shaikh Abdul Quddus did not come in close contact on account of his pro-Afghan leanings,[7]

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 80.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 85.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Lettern o. 202.
4. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), p. 282.
5. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 83.
6. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 109.
7. Rukn ud-Din : *Lataif i-Quddusi* (Delhi, 1311/1893-94), pp. 72-74.

is very frank wherein the necessity of following the *Shariat* has been dealt with at some length. Emphasising the importance of creating an atmosphere in which all the Muslims could live in peace and prosperity, he asserted that since the Sultan was God's shadow on earth and the maxim "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in command among you" had been made obligatory for the Muslim, the care of *Faqirs*, Alims, the pious, the weak, and the poor should not be neglected. He pointed out to the Emperor that, "in order to perform the obligations of the true thanksgiving to the Almighty for the boon you have received, it is essential that you should cast the shadow of your justice on the people of the world in such a manner that none is encouraged to practise tyranny on his fellow beings and that all the people and soldiers hold fast to all that which has been ordained by *Shara* and abstain from all that has been forbidden. It should be seen that the people don't miss congregational prayers and that they have a love for the teachings of the Ulama. The bazaars of each city should be put under the superintendence of *Muhtasibs* so that they may see that the principles of *Shara* are judiciously followed. Pious Muslims should be posted to the provinces so that they may collect taxes in accordance with the principles of *Shara*. No *kafir* should find any office or employment in the *Diwan* of Islam as well as in the capital of Islam. Posts of *Amirs* and *Amils* should be barred to them. Furthermore, in conformity with the principles of *Shara*, they should be subjected to all types of indignities and humiliations. They (the *kafirs*) should be made to pay revenues, and *jizya* and *zakat* on their goods should be levied as prescribed by *Shara*. They should have no parity with the Muslims in matters of dress, and should be forced to keep their *kufr* concealed, rather than be allowed to perform ceremonies of *kufr* openly and freely. Stipends should not be paid to them from the *Bait ul-Mal* of Islam, but they should confine themselves to their own professions. They should not be allowed to consider themselves equal to the Muslims, so that the glory of Islam may reach its zenith."[1]

The above letter of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh, and similar letters to Humayan,[2] are more comprehensive and frank as compared to any of the bitter and strongly-worded letters of Mujaddid. They are addressed to the Emperors themselves and not to the nobles, but they failed to make any impression on Babur or Humayun, though

1. *Maktubat i-Quddusiya*, Letter no. 169.
2. *Ibid.*

the former was a new-comer, and was favourably inclined towards the orthodoxy of the school of Shaikh Ubaidullah Ahrar. The disciples of Shaikh Abdul Quddus went on accusing Humayun as a persecutor of Islam and ascribed his failures to his strong pro-Hindu leanings[1], but the contemporary nobles and rulers as well as the sober chronologists did not accept such interpretations.

All sorts of expectations are usually held when a new order replaces the old one. Mujaddid did not address any letter to Jahangir except the one he wrote long after his release from Gwalior fort. Most of his letters were meant to recommend revenue officials who either stood accused in some trial or were imprisoned for corrupt practices in financial transactions. In some letters the appointment of a *Qazi* or a *Mufti* was recommended. He did not break any new grounds when he propounded his theories. The orthodox class from the very inception of Islam in India had been striving for the same things.

Political and Social Mission of Mujaddid

Mujaddid's political mission was a necessary corollary to the status he had come to assume. As a Mujaddid, he took it upon himself to bring political, social and religious affairs in line with orthodox Sunni canons. He did not pay attention to the Sassanid political institutions and their substantial achievements, in the evolution of the political and administrative institutions of the Sultans of Delhi as also the firm hold which the *Tora* had had on the Mughuls. He was not himself a political thinker or administrator. He had a limited experience of worldly affairs and administrative needs of the country. He did not find it useful for himself to study the back-ground of the administrative machinery which Akbar, with persistent efforts, had evolved, suiting the Indian conditions and the needs of the times. His conclusions were based on his personal prejudices, upon the conditions prevalent round about Sirhind[2] and on the reports which the disgruntled Muslim officials conveyed to him from time to time. He thought that Akbar's policies had succumbed to the unwholesome influence of Shaikh Abul Fazl, Faizi or certain other nobles who had

1. درشب درخواب حضرات قطب الاقطاب شیخ عبدالقدوس حاضر شدند ـ فرمودند ای دنو پیشتر بیا و پیغام گزاری ما باپیران‌گجرات بکن‌ای دنودر گجرات بروکل پیران گجرات راسلام مابرسان وگو که همایون بادشاه اسلام راتاراج میکند ومیان کفرو اسلام فرق نمی کند همه راتاراج می کند مابه مدد اسلام وبه مدد شما آمده ایم

Lataif i-Quddusi, pp. 79-80.

2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 92 to Mir Muhammad Numan.

diverted him from orthodox Islam. Their success he mainly ascribed to the nearness of the Day of Judgment and the long time that had elapsed since the 'Seal of Prophets' had appeared.[1] He seemingly laboured under the wrong notion that Jahangir would set every thing right and restore Islam to its pristine purity if he were to wield his sword on the Hindus and the Shias. "*Shariat* can be fostered through the sword," was the slogan he raised for his contemporaries. It was for this reason that he equated the status of the Emperor *vis a vis* his kingdom with the position of the soul or heart in relation to body. 'A reform, if possible by any means, in the Emperor, would mean the eradication of evils from the body-politic of Islam' was his firm conviction. Akbar's eclectic tendencies and his policy of "peace with all" had frozen Mujaddid's expectations on this score but they were revived a bit with the accession of Jahangir. This expectation had its stimulant not in the belief that Jahangir had previously shown any leanings towards Sunni orthodoxy but in the hope that if efforts to persuade the Emperor to stand by his (Mujaddid's) ideals succeeded in the beginning of the new reign, the transformation from heterodoxy to orthodoxy was guaranteed. He, therefore, quite oblivious of the problems which the Mughul emperors and the nobles had to face in governing a country of such heterogeneous population as India, sought to make the nobles his tool for the revival of orthodoxy. He underestimated the complexity of the task by appealing only to the communal sentiments. He did not make any attempt to organise the common Muslims or those below the status of the nobility. It was only on one occasion, that he wrote to the eminent Saiyids, *Qazis* and inhabitants of Samana against the *Khatib* of that place who had intentionally dropped the name of the first four Caliphs from the *Khutba*. When the people raised objections, the *Khatib* emphatically said, "How does it matter then if I did not mention the names of the Caliphs?" Mujaddid expressed great surprise over the indifference and tolerance of the eminent as well as common people of the locality towards this 'sacrilegious act' of the unscrupulous *Khatib*. In his view they should have taken serious steps against him. He accepted that the mention of the name of the Caliphs was, no doubt, not one of the fundamentals of the Sunni faith but it was one of the important Sunni practices and as such deserved to be strictly adhered to. Intentional omission of the name of the Caliphs smacked of Shiism. Even if the

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 67 to Khan i-Jahan.

Khatib did not drop the name on account of bigotry or enmity, no explanation could be offered for acting in a manner similar to that of the Shias. The whole city could be blamed for that serious lapse. It might shake the confidence of the people throughout India. "Since the contemporary Sultan (May God give him dominance over the enemies of Islam)" he remarked, "is a Sunni and a Hanafi, it is really audacious to practise such a *Bidat* in his reign. As a matter of fact it is a challenge to the Sultan and a revolt against *Uli'l amr.* It is strange that the eminent people of that place are taking no action and are tolerating it. . . Conniving at such matters is to make the innovators insolent and amounts to effecting a breach in the faith."[1]

Here too the ruler has been assigned a dominant place and the omission is depicted as amounting to revolting against the authority of the Emperor.

Baseless fears and apprehensions always haunted Mujaddid's mind as is evident from his letter to Shaikh Farid : "They would, if they got an opportunity, make us abandon Islam or would kill all of us or would make us *kafirs* again." Under the influence of this fear he trumpeted the slogan that "*Kufr* and Islam are opposed to each other. The progress of one is possible only at the expense of the other and co-existence between these two contradictory faiths is unthinkable. To honour the one amounts to insulting the other." In one of his letters to Shaikh Farid Bukhari he wrote, "The honour of Islam lies in insulting *kufr* and *kafirs.* One who respects the *kafirs,* dishonours the Muslims. To respect them does not merely mean honouring them and assigning them a seat of honour in any assembly, but it also implies keeping company with them or showing consideration to them. They should be kept at an arm's length like dogs. . . If some worldly business cannot be performed without them,[2] in that case only a minimum of contact should be established with them but without taking them into confidence. The highest Islamic sentiment asserts that it is better to forego that worldly business and that no relationship should be established with the *kafirs.*"[3]

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. II, Letter no. 15.
2. Obviously the finance and revenue administration, which controlled the *Madad i-Maash* too. Barani, in another context, has more eloquently put similar theories, in the mouth of Qazi Mughis of Biyana. (*Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi,* pp. 290-291).
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol.I, Letter no. 163.

His exhortations to encourage cow-sacrifice and the re-imposition of *jizya* owed their origin to this peculiar and contemptuous attitude towards the Hindus. He did not agree with the interpretation of some jurists that *jizya* was levied in lieu of certain services which the non-Muslims were exempted from performing. He did not consider it a mere tax. He thought that the *jizya* was abolished in India as a result of the unfortunate company of the *kafirs* with the rulers. He wrote to Shaikh Farid, "The real purpose in levying *jizya* on them (the non-Muslims) is to humiliate them to such an extent that, on account of the fear of *jizya*, they may not be able to dress well and to live in grandeur. They should constantly remain terrified and trembling. It is intended to hold them under contempt and to uphold the honour and might of Islam."[1]

He reiterated the same view of the purpose of *jizya* in his other letters.[2] Similarly he considered that the ban on cow-slaughter was also made in previous reign due to the close associations of Muslims with Hindus. Insistence on the permission for cow-slaughter was therefore more essential than the efforts for reimposition of *jizya*.

To Lala Beg he wrote, "Cow-sacrifice in India is the noblest of Islamic practices. The *kafirs* may probably agree to pay *jizya* but they shall never concede to cow-sacrifice."[3] The mere fact of a Muslim ruler holding the Hindus under subjection afforded Mujaddid no satisfaction. He stood for an outright condemnation and destruction of the non-Muslims. Had he managed to influence Jahangir he would not have hesitated to suggest to him that the choice of either accepting Islam or to suffer death be offered to them. He did not attach any importance to the motive with which the Hindus were killed. He was satisfied with their mere destruction.

Recalling the event of the execution of Sikh Guru, Arjun Dev he wrote to Shaikh Farid, when he was Governor of the Punjab, "The execution of the accursed *kafir* of Gobindwal is an important achievement and is the cause of the great defeat of the accursed Hindus." He knew it for certain that the execution had no religious motive behind it,[4]

1. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 163.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 193.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, Letter no. 81.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 193.

درین وقت کشتن کافر لعین گوبند وال بسیار خوب واقع شد و باعث شکست عظیم بر هنود مردود گشت بهر نیت که کشته باشند و بهر غرض که هلاک کرده خواری کفار ؟ خود نقد وقت اهل اسلام است ـ این فقیر پیش از انکه این کافر رابکشند در خواب دیده بود که بادشاه وقت کله سر شرک راشکسته است والحق که آن گبر رئیس اهل شرک بود و امام اهل کفر

for even Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari, a saint of considerable eminence, was banished to Mecca on account of his association with Khusrau,[1] still he found reason to feel exulted at this incident. He added, "Whatever might have been the motive behind the execution, the dishonour of the *kafirs* is an act of highest grace for the Muslims. Before the execution of the *kafir* I had seen in a vision that the Emperor had destroyed the crown of the head of *Shirk*. Verily he was the chief of the *Mushriks* and the leader of the *kafirs*."[2] The most important demand of religion, according to him, was to launch a crusade against the *kafirs* and treat them with all harshness.

His attitude towards the Shias was no better. He considered the company of an innovator worse than the company of a *kafir* on account of the evil consequences which were the outcome of such company. The worst of the innovators according to him, "are those who bear malice against the companions of Prophet Muhammad. God has called them *kafirs* in the *Quran*. The *Quran* and the *Shariat* were propagated by the companions of Prophet Muhammad. If they are reviled, the *Quran* and the *Shariat* are reviled."[3] In a long letter to Mirza Fathullah Hakim he vehemently attacked the non-Sunni sects, specially the Shias.[4] In a letter to Shaikh Farid he wrote to him that showing honour to an innovator (Shia) amounted to destroying Islam.[5] His hatred of the Shias emanated from the sense of frustration and jealousy at their political ascendancy. He had started his career by writing a separate treatise entitled *Radd i-Rawafiz* to refute the beliefs of the Shias and discussed the subject in some letters also.[6]

His tirade against the *Ulama i-Su* or the worldly-minded Ulama was most severe. This was not against any organised group or individuals

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B) , Vol. I, p. 60.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 193. The main reason of Mujaddid's jubilance appears to be the popularity of Guru Arjun Singh amongst Hindus and Muslims both, to whom people crowded to manifest their complete faith in him. (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, R & B, Vol. I, p. 72). Such an eminent saint who lived so close to the area of his activities could in no case be tolerated by Mujaddid and it was natural for him to heave a sigh of relief on his death.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 54.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 80.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 165.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 36 to Khwaja Muhammad Taqi, Letter no. 67 to Khan i-Jahan, Letter no. 96 to Khwaja Abul Hasan Badakhshi, Vol. III, Letter no. 24 to Mulla Muhammad Murad Kishmi, Vol. I, Letter no. 192 to Shaikh Badi ud-Din Saharanpuri, Letter no. 251 to Maulana Muhammad Ashraf.

and Mujaddid, like his predecessors,[1] has nowhere in his letters or writings defined the term or given a list of the *Ulama i-Su* either of Akbar's age or those of Jahangir's reign. The author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* has spoken very highly of even Shaikh Abdun Nabi and considered him to be a martyr.[2] Sadr i-Jahan, who had a responsible hand in the supervision of religious affairs in Akbar's reign as well as in the reign of Jahangir was one of Mujaddid's greatest heroes. Both of them have come in for severe condemnation by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni. Mujaddid's sweeping remarks and vague accusations of the contemporary Ulama as well as those of the past were of no help to the common people. His denunciations and vehement criticisms therefore took the Muslims no farther than where they were.

When he was informed that Jahangir had ordered Shaikh Farid Bukhari to find four Alims who might be able to advise him on matters relating to *Shara*, he wrote to Shaikh Farid, "*Alims* devoted only to religion and propagation of the *Shariat* but unattached to the love of power and authority are very rare in this age. The love of authority will prompt each one of the *Alims* to take sides and try to establish his superiority. To serve their own ends, these *Alims* would introduce controversial matters in such a way as to help them gain the confidence of the ruler. Such a tendency would lead to confusion. In the foregoing *qaran* the controversies of the *Ulama* had plunged the world into distress. The same history is being repeated now. This would not lead to the propagation of religion, rather would become the cause of its ruin."[3] In another letter to Mulla Haji Muhammad Lahori he quoted the anecdote relating to no work left for Iblis on account of the worldly-minded Ulama.[4] This too was fairly known to the Indian Muslims through the letters of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari.[5] He repeatedly wrote, "Whatever befell the Muslims, in the previous *qaran*, it was due to the Ulama. They misled the rulers and the misguided seventy-two sects were formed on account of their leadership. Except the *Ulama i-Su*, the number of the people who fell in error was very small. Their error was contagious."[6]

1. *Supra*, pp. 11-13.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 103.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 54, also letter no. 194 to *Sadr i-Jahan.*
4. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 33.
5. *Supra*, pp. 52.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 47 ; also letter nos. 37, 53, 213 to Shaikh Farid. Letter no. 194 to *Sadr i-Jahan.*

Similarly he did not see eye to eye with the ignorant Sufis whom he considered no better than the *Ulama i-Su* and thought that their influence was more vicious than that of the Ulama. He was of the opinion that the contemporary *Pirs* were ignorant of their true-selves, were unable to differentiate between the faith and *kufr*, held the opinion that the *Shariat* was the outward form of *Haqiqat* and were misled by the utterances which the eminent Sufis in the past had made in a state of *Sukr*.[1]

The social customs of the Muslims were also made the target of his attack. The customs prevalent in Mujaddid's time had gradually sprung up on account of peculiar Indian conditions and environment, even long before the advent of Akbar. Makhdum Jahaniyan[2] and Sultan Firuz[3] attempted to check this fusion of varied customs. Sikandar Lodi is also given the credit for abolishing the festival of Saiyid Salar Masud Ghazi's spear and the worship of the tombs of fictitious saints. Eradication of the superstitions associated with '*Shitla*' (small-pox) is also ascribed to him.[4] Their firm hold on the beliefs of the Muslim masses in Mujaddid's time as even now, is an eloquent testimony to the process of cultural synthesis and to the evolution of a spiritual brotherhood of the Hindus and the Muslims in India.

Mujaddid was also grieved to see the prevalence of a large number of similar practices, which had obtained predominance amongst the Muslims. In Volume III of the collection of his letters, a letter addressed to a pious woman shows how a large number of local customs and practices, so deeply abhorrent to him, had taken firm roots amongst the Muslims. He wrote to her, "To seek help from idols and demons for the cure of diseases and other miseries, which are prevalent amongst Muslims on one pretext or the other is another name for *Shirk* and heresy. Praying for the fulfilment of one's need to the chiselled or unchiselled stone is solely an act of *kufr* and a denial of the existence and overlordship of the Almighty. . . . Mostly women, on account of their utter ignorance, seek such kind of help and pray to

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 30, 39, 41, 220, 221, 226, 261 ; Vol. II, nos. 55, 87. *cf.* Ala ud-Daula Simnani's views, *Supra*, pp. 40-42.
2. *Supra*, pp. 56-58.
3. *Futuhat i-Firuz Shahi* (Aligarh, 1954), pp. 8-9 ; Rizvi : *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, Vol. II, (Aligarh, 1957), p. 332.
4. *Waqiat i-Mushtaqi*, p. 15 ; Rizvi ; *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Vol I, (Aligarh, 1958), p. 104.

these unnamed ones to ward off calamities and evils. They are engrossed in the practices of *Shirk* and *Mushriks*, particularly in those which they perform on the occasion of the prevalence of small-pox which is known as *Shitla* in Hindi. There would hardly be any woman who does not perform one or the other ceremony of *Shirk* . . . . Showing respect to the sacred days of Hindus and performing the ceremonies prevalent amongst them are nothing but *kufr*. For instance, during the Dewali of the *kafirs*, the ignorant ones amongst Muslims, particularly the women, perform the ceremonies of *kufr*. They celebrate it like their own *Id* and send presents to their daughters and sisters like the *kafirs* and *Mushriks*. They colour their pots during these days like *kafirs*, fill them with red rice and send them as presents. They attach much importance and weight to this season. All this is *Shirk* and *kufr*.

"They make offerings of animals to the *Mashaikh* and sacrifice them at their graves. Traditions of Islamic law brand this also as *Shirk*, hence it deserves to be strictly prohibited. This sacrifice resembles the one performed by the *Mushriks*; hence it is also included in the category of *Shirk* and as such should be avoided. There are innumerable forms of taking a vow. It is not essential that the vow to sacrifice animals be taken at all and should be considered as amounting to killing the demons. This makes Muslims and those, who worship the demons, look alike.

"Similarly women keep fast after the names of *Pirs* and *Bibis*.[1] Often the women themselves invent their names and keep fast in their names. They break each fast in a particular manner and in a peculiar fashion. They themselves fix the days for such fasts. They depend on those fasts for the fulfilment of their needs and requirements. This obvious form of *Shirk* in the divine worship amounts to seeking the fulfilment of one's needs from other than God. The evil consequences of this action should be carefully perceived for according to the *Hadis* the fast is to be kept exclusively for Allah. When these women are criticised for such follies they defend their actions by claiming that they keep fast for God and pass on the reward to the *Pirs*. If their claim is genuine, there is no justification either in fixing the days or assigning a particular type of food or resorting to a particular undesirable manner to break the fast. Often they perform unlawful practices at the time of breaking the fast. They indulge in begging unnecessarily and break the

1. Lady saints.

fast by eating all that they get by begging. They consider that the fulfilment of their needs is not possible but for that unlawful act. This is aberration and the misguidance of the accursed Satan."[1]

The theory so eloquently propounded by Rumi[2] in his *Masnawi*, that it was the heart of the devotee that mattered before the Almighty and not the words, had had a far-reaching influence on the Hindus and Muslims both, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but Mujaddid, like Makhdum Jahaniyan,[3] considered the approach to be heretical. One Hirdai Rama, probably under the influence of the traditions of Rumi and neo-Bhakti, wrote that Rama, Krishna and Allah were the different names of the Almighty and depicted the same reality through different nomenclatures. Mujaddid found it impossible to tolerate these conclusions, so he wrote him back, "Our God and yours, or rather, the God of all mortals, whether in the heavens or on the earth, sublime or infernal, is One—incomparable and inexplicable. He bears no likeness or resemblance to any one. He does not possess any form or similitude. It is impossible to ascribe the relation of father and son to Him. . . Only He is worthy to be worshipped and prayed to. . . Rama, Krishna and others like them, the gods of the Hindus, are amongst the meanest of His creation. They were born of father and mother. Rama was the son of Dasrath, brother of Lachman and the husband of Sita. When Rama could not protect even his wife how can he help others? Exert your brain, making the best use of it and do not worship them. It is really very shameful to identify Rama and Krishna with the Almighty. To put them on a par with Him amounts to calling a mighty emperor a mean scavenger. It is a folly of great magnitude to treat Rama and Rahman as one. The Creator cannot be one with the created. The comparable ones cannot be aligned with the incomparable One. Before the birth of Rama and Krishna nobody called the Almighty Rama and Krishna. What change has taken place since their birth, to justify calling God, Rama or Krishna, and worshipping them as God?"[4]

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 41.
2. *Supra*, p. 5.
3. *Supra*, pp. 56-58.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 167.

RELIGIOUS MISSION OF MUJADDID

Like Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi and other protagonists of the revivalist school, Mujaddid found the remedy for all worldly evils in rectifying one's faith in accordance with the beliefs of Sunnis as interpreted by God-fearing Alims and laid down in the works of *Kalam*,[1] for he held a firm belief in the view that from amongst the seventy-three sects of Islam, only the Sunnis could attain to salvation.[2] He himself summarised all these beliefs in his letters to the sons of his preceptor, Khwaja Abdullah and Ubaidullah[3], and to Khwaja i-Jahan[4]. He believed *Shariat* of Islam was most comprehensive and the essence of all heavenly books was included in the *Quran*. Hence all those who pinned their faith on the *Shariat* were superior to all peoples and nations who did not.[5] He condemned the study of philosophy and the beliefs of *Mutazilas* and their followers, in most emphatic terms. It was due to this that the commentary entitled *Tabsir ur-Rahman* came in for severe criticism at his hands, for it explained the verses of the *Quran* from the rationalist's point of view. He apprehended that the author, Shaikh Ali b. Ahmad Mahaimi of Gujarat (*d.* 1432), was likely to assign the philosophers a status superior to the Alims.[6]

He stood for a ruthless suppression of *Bidat* or innovations. Two types of *Bidat* had come to be recognised. *Bidat i-hasanah* or beneficial innovations, and *Bidat i-Saiyia* or sinful innovations. The former were permissible for they could not be avoided on account of the exigencies of time and place but no sharp distinction could ever be discovered between the above two and the orthodox and the bigoted sections condemned almost everything in life which they did not approve of by branding them as *Bidat*. Mujaddid argued, "Some *Bidat* may have possessed some benefit and Islam may have found it convenient to put up with *Bidat* in the preceding centuries but conditions have changed since then. The entire world appears like a vast ocean of darkness on account of *Bidat* and the spark of *Sunnat* is like a mere glow-worm."[7] In another

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 177, 186, 193, 278.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 80.
3. *Ibid.*. Vol. I, Letter no. 266.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 67.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 79, 44; Vol. II, Letter no. 82.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Letter no. 101. The author was an eminent *Wujudi*.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 186; Vol. II, no. 22.

letter complaining about *Bidat* he said, "It is therefore enjoined upon every Muslim to wage a regular crusade against all innovations."[1] He criticised not only the innovations in the *Shariat* but innovations in the *Tariqat* too. Even the innovations, popular with the Naqshbandi Silsila not only in India[2] but also in Transoxiana which, according to him, was the centre of the God-fearing Ulama,[3] were looked on by him with great bewilderment. On account of this approach he considered the theologians superior to the Sufis. Even the casual mention of scholars first and the Sufis next by Shaikh Farid Bukhari in his letter to Mujaddid transported the latter to the world of unlimited joy and he considered it to be an evidence of Shaikh Farid Bukhari's preference for the Ulama. Mujaddid wrote to him, "You had communicated to Maulana Muhammad Qulich the despatch of some money for the expenses of 'scholars and Sufis'. It gives me delight to see that your magnanimity has prompted you to give priority to scholars over Sufis while making mention of them. I am sure you assign them the same rank in your heart also, for, giving priority to scholars is equivalent to promulgating the *Shariat*. The scholars are the protagonists of the *Shariat* and the existence of the faith founded by Mustafa depends on them. Tomorrow, on the Day of Judgment, enquiries will be made regarding the *Shariat* and none in respect of the *Tasawwuf*. The question of entry into paradise and escape from Hell is closely linked up with obedience to *Shariat*.[4] The main reason for assigning a superior status to the viewpoint of the Ulama could be found in the fact that they, the pious Ulama, conceived that "Being is Ineffable and Incomparable. Things other than Him are regarded by them as His manifestations. Even if *Taiyun* or determination could somehow be proved to their satisfaction they would treat it as His manifestation. They think it as something extraneous to the orbit of Incomparable Being.[5]" Hence, Mujaddid regarded the knowledge acquired through mystic intuition as merely a subjective experience deserving of an outright rejection.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 255.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 266 to Khwaja Abdullah and Khwaja Ubaidullah, sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 168 to Khwaja Muhammad Qasim son of Khwaja Amkangi, the preceptor of Khwaja Baqi Billah.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 48; Vol. II, Letter no. 18.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 41.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 10.

Thus while emphasising the importance of the *Shariat*, Mujaddid relegated *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat* to the status of a mere tool meant for the fulfilment of the requirements of the third part of the *Shariat i.e. Ikhlas* or piety, the other two being *Ilm* (knowledge) and *Amal* (action).[1] The external form of the *Shariat* was to be interpreted by the Ulama while it was left to the Sufis to define and interpret its internal form. Though he argued from the point of view of the Alims, the framework of his thought, as also the kernel of his claims were based on that of *Tasawwuf* and not on scholastic theology.

As a Sufi he believed that the mystics were also liable to err in their *Kashf* (mystic revelations) in the same way as the *Mujtahids* committed mistakes in the exercise of their *Ijtihad* (theological decisions). If the latter were exempt from accounting for their mistakes and omissions, so were the former entitled for being not taken to task for their faults. All those aphorisms of the monists, pantheists and other Sufis, who uttered expressions contrary to the beliefs of the pious Sunnis and irreconcilable with the *Shara*, should not be interpreted in their literal sense but be glossed over by means of some allegorical explanation[2], as having emanated from a state of *Sukr* (mystic intoxication)[3]. The utterances of Sufis noted for their *Sahw* (sobriety), like Junaid[4], which did not conform to the *Shariat*, should also be ascribed to *Sukr*, there being only a difference of degree. The *Sukr* of Mansur al-Hallaj and that of Bayizid[5] of Bistam, indeed, were of a higher category than that of Junaid or Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, who declared that his feet were on the necks of all the

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 40.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 171.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 220.
4. "For thirty years" said he, "God spoke with mankind by the tongue of Junaid though Junaid was no longer there, and men knew it not." Further, "The supreme degree of the doctrine of the Divine Unity is the denial of the Divine Unity."
5. Bayizid declared that he was a sea without a bottom, without beginning and without end. On being asked, "What is the throne of God?" he answered, "I am the throne of God." "What is the table on which the divine decrees are written?" "I am that table." "What is the pen of God—the word by which God created all things?" "I am the pen." "What are Abraham, Moses, and Jesus?" "I am Abraham, Moses and Jesus." "What are the angels Gabriel, Michael, Israfil?" "I am Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, for whatever comes to true being is absorbed into God, and this God." (Hughes : *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 620).

Walis.[1] In the letters written in the beginning of his missionary career, he was more critical of such utterances, particularly of the aphorisms of Ibn Arabi,[2] and his *Faruqi vein* was more prone to be agitated, but later the attitude appears to have softened as he went to the extent of declaring, "If some words uttered by a Muslim are not apparently in accordance with the *Shariat*, they should be reconciled with it, by glossing over its literal sense and a Muslim should not be blamed for that. Since divulgence of abominable crimes and exposing the vices of even a scoundrel are unlawful and prohibited, from the point of view of *Shara*, how can the ignominy of a Muslim be justifiable merely on the suspicion of an (unlawful) act ? How can its publicity from town to town be deemed as right ? The duties enjoined by Islam as also the normal rules of courtesy make it essential for a Muslim that if something is uttered against the *Shara*, it should be determined who has uttered that thing. If he is a heretic or an atheist he should be refuted without making any attempts to reform him. If he is a Muslim and believes in God and His Prophet, attempts should be made to rectify his statements and a correct interpretation be sought for them or he himself should be asked to justify it. If he is unable to justify it he should be given appropriate counsel. To enjoin upon him to do what is lawful and to refrain from that which is unlawful would be the highest form of benevolence that can be shown to him."[3] He himself in a long letter to one Mulla Shams gave a lengthy explanation to a statement of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahiya Manyari who said, "unless one becomes a *kafir* one cannot become a Muslim. Unless the seeker chops off the head of his brother, and copulates with his mother, he cannot become a Muslim."[4] The ravings of an ecstatic were therefore not to be taken literally.

He believed in *Wahdat i-Shuhud* which according to him boiled down to the maxim *Hama az ust*[5] as distinguished from the *Wahdat ul-Wujud* or the principle underlying the idea of *Hama ust.*[6] The

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. III, Letter nos. 121, 126, 34; *cf.* Vol. I, Letter no. 293.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. I, Letter no. 100.
3. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, Letter no. 121, *cf.* Ala ud-Daula Simnani : *Al-Urwa.* Chapter II, ff. 20b-81b.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. III, Letter no. 33.
5. "All is from Him".
6. "All is He".

principle of *Hama ust* he termed as an innovation on account of which the author of *Fusus* was a target of reproach and censure while the principle of *Hama az ust* was unanimously accepted by all the Ulama. The latter principle, in his view, conformed to *Shara* and reason and was supported by mystic revelations and inspirations.[1]

Like Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani, he himself in the beginning believed in *Wahdat i-Wujud.*[2] After being initiated into the Naqshbandi order he experienced all the secrets of *Tajalli i-Zati* or the vision of Being, the highest stage of mystical experience, beyond which nothing but pure nonetity exists, but shortly afterwards mystic experiences known as *Ittihad* (union) and *Wahdat* (unity) seemed to him futile and the *Ihata* (comprehension), *Siryan* (penetration), *Qurb* (nearness) and *Mahiyat* (conjunction) with the Essence appeared to be nothing but a mirage. He was confirmed in the belief that the *Zill* (effect) was not the *Ain* (essence) of *Asl* (the real) as was propounded by Ibn Arabi. Thus he claimed to have reached the stage of *Zilliyat* (adumberation) after having traversed through the *Wujudiyat* (pantheism) and finally to that of *Abdiyat* (servitude) which, according to him, was the highest and final stage of all mystic ascent.[3] Highest spiritual benefits could accrue to a man only through obedience to the *Shariat* as interpreted by the *Maturidite*[4] school of Sunni theology. *La ilaha illallah* (There is no god but God) should never be stretched as to mean *La maujud illallah* (there is nothing in existence but God).[5] Silent *Zikr* was an additional necessity but all the acts performed in obedience to *Shara*, were regarded by him as *Zikr.*[6] The mystic experiences and revelations were not to be given much credence.[7] He ruled out salvation

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 27.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 31, 290. He composed the following two lines as a pantheist:

ای دریغا کین شریعت ملت ایمای است - ملت ما کافری و ملت ترسائی است

کفر و ایمان زلف و روی آن پری زیبای است - کفر و ایمان هر دو اندر راه ما یکتائی است

'Alas this *Shariat* is the religion of the ignorant ones
Our religon is *Kafiri* (in-fidelity) and *Tarsai* (Christianity, but here unbelief).
Kufr (unbelief) and faith are the locks and face of that beautiful fairy.
Kufr (unbelief) and faith are similar in our way.' (Vol. I, Letter no. 31).

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, no. 30, 160.
4. *cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam.*
5. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, 291.
6. *I id.*, Vol. I, 93, 190, 231 ; Vol. II, 25, 26.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 112, 246.

as being the fruit of hard ascetic exercises, for similar exercises were performed by the Brahmins and Yogis too, but they could not hope to be benefited by them. The ascetic exercises could only help them to sublimate and control their own desires.[1] Miracles were not considered essential for the *Walis* (saints). It was necessary only for prophets as they were required to propagate their mission amongst the people while it was better for the Sufis to conceal their attainments.[2] He did not see eye to eye with those Sufis who declared that "*Nubuwat* or Prophethood is inferior to *Wilayat* or sainthood," and forcefully rejected the view that "The sainthood (*Wilayat*) of Prophets is superior to their prophethood (*Nubuwat*) ; for the prophets reform the people and put them on the right path, a duty incapable of being surpassed by any other type of duty."[3] In his view the Naqshbandi Silsila was the only mystic order which had achieved the aforesaid ideals, gave credence to nothing but the *Shariat*, conformed exactly to the principles followed by Prophet Muhammad and his companions and adhered to the very essence of their teachings.[4] It is obvious that the contemporary and later mystics of other *Silsilas* could never acquiesce in these claims ; even the sons and other important disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah opposed the formulations of Mujaddid.

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Letter no. 86.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 108, 260, 301, 303; Vol II, 41, 92
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 221, 243.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RECEPTION OF MUJADDID'S MISSION

The heights to which Mujaddid sought to raise the Naqshbandi Silsila by unsuccessful efforts to enlist the support of a few nobles and by creating an atmosphere of fear, were viewed with envy by the followers of the other *Silsilas*, more particularly by the Chishtis and Shattaris, who enjoyed considerables tate patronage and popular support[1]. Despite the vehement criticism of Mujaddid, none of them was prepared to accept his practices as un-Islamic. The *sama* gatherings of the Chishtis were the main target of Mujaddid's attack but, paradoxically enough, the practice did not fail to inspire even the Naqshbandis and the senior disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah, *viz.* Husam ud-Din and Alahdad and sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah. The *Bidat* or the innovations which the followers of the Naqshbandi order practised even in Kabul were known to Mujaddid too and he has recounted some of them in his letters[2]. They must have been exploited to their advantage by the members of other *Silsilas* whom he so vehemently criticised. Similarly, there was no love lost between him and the

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 249. Jahangir visited the shrine of Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti in the 8th regnal year for the first time after his accession to the throne and has mentioned the blessings received by his house from the illustrious Khwaja.

   Jahangir ordered Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Governor of Gujarat, to offer gifts to the sons of Miyan Wajih ud-Din, and sent to him some of the names of God which had been tested.

   [*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 61; (R & B), p. 128)]. It may be noted that the Shattaris specialised in *Dawat i-Isma* for which they were ridiculed by the revivalists. Shaikh Farid himself got the tomb of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din constructed during his tenure as Governor of Gujarat. (*Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, p. 137). Jahangir visited in person the *khanqah* of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din and has bestowed fulsome eulogies on the Shaikh. (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, R & B, pp. 425-426). Jahangir wrote about Shaikh Wajih ud-Din :

   شیخ از خلفای شیخ محمد غوث است اما خلیفه که مرشد بخلافت او مباهات کند

   "Shaikh was a *Khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus but he was a *Khalifa* of whom the preceptor should also be proud." The English rendering of the above sentence in 'Rogers and Beveridge' is inaccurate : "The Shaikh was a successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, but a successor whom the teacher disputed." (*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, Sir Saiyid edition, p. 211 ; R & B, p. 424).
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 131.

Firuzi fort Delhi centre of the Naqshbandis. Mujaddid made no efforts to co-ordinate his activities with other important branches of the Naqshbandis, particularly the one led by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. The Naqshbandi Silsila was then a house divided and hence could not inspire much confidence in the followers of other *Silsilas*.

Criticisms of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* were already known to the Indian Muslims through the works of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. His contemporary and neighbour, Saiyid Ahmad Afghan Bajauri, who preached *Tauhid i- Shuhudi*, had an immense following. Ulama like Fazl b. Ruz Bihan Baqli had already been levelling frivolous and flimsy accusations against them which even Mujaddid did not look upon with favour[1]. A section of the contemporary Muslims led by Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi was sick of the controversy and preferred not to indulge in it[2]. Mir Wali ud-Din, after examining the *Wahdat i-Wujud* of Ibn Arabi and the *Wahdat i-Shuhud* of Mujaddid, has pointed out, "Thus it is clear, as Shah Wali ullah has hinted, that *Wahdat i-Shuhud* of the Mujaddid does in no way contradict but on the other hand confirms Ibn Arabi's *Wahdat i-Wujud*. If real facts are taken into account and studied after clipping them of similes and metaphors, both the doctrines will appear almost one and the same...

"As to the contention of the *Shuhudiyyah* that the mystic experience of the *Wujudiyyah* is of a lower stage and it is possible to pass on to a higher and truer experience which is the experience of the *Shuhudiyyah*, it may be answered on behalf of the *Wujudiyyah* that what they (the *Wujudiyyah*) experience is of higher stage and what their rival school experiences is really of a lower stage. The overwhelming majority of eminent Muslim Sufis adheres to the doctrine of *Wahdat i-Wujud*. It is amply supported by the *Quran* and by the esoteric sayings of the Prophet and in no way contradicts the truth of Islam."[3]

The theory of the appearance of a *Mujaddid Alf i-Sani*, which Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi popularised, was not new but had germinated from a tradition ascribed to Prophet Muhammad: "God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person in this *Ummat* who would renew the

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 89.
2. *cf.* Shah Wali ullah's letter to Afandi Ismail in *Visva Bharti Annals*, Vol. IV, 1951, pp. 35-36.
3. Mir Wali ud-Din : Reconciliation between Ibn i-Arabi's *Wahdat i-Wujud* and Mujaddid's *Wahdat i-Shuhud*. (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXV, 1951, p.51).

religion.[1]" The most prolific and versatile Egyptian writer, Abul Fazl Abdur Rahman Suyuti (*d.* 18 Jamada I, 911/17 Oct., 1505), who like Ibn i-Taimiya claimed himself competent to perform *Ijtihad*, also gave popularity to the idea of a renovator appearing in the beginning of each century, declaring himself to be such.[2] His *Jama ul-Jawami* contains the following saying ascribed to Prophet Muhammad: "There will be a man in my *Ummat* who will be called a 'conjoiner' through whose intercession there will enter Paradise so-and-so."

It was on the basis of these traditions that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi claimed himself to be a *Mujaddid* not of a century but of the Millennium. The significance of the Millennium did not remain a topic of discussion confined to the theologians and Sufis alone but had been a subject of popular speculation for many centuries, so much so that even poets loved to make it a theme of their verses. Shaikh Abul Fazl has quoted the following quatrains of Khaqani (*d.* 582/1186), an eminent Persian poet:

"They say that after every thousand years of the world,
There comes into existence a true man,
He came before this, ere we were born from nothingness,
He will come after this when we have departed in sorrow.'
Elsewhere the same poet sings,
'Every now and then, the world is saturated with wretches,
Then a shining soul comes down out of the sky,
Khaqani! Seek not in this age for such a thing,
Sit, not by the way for the Caravan will come late'."[3]

Akbar also commemorated the completion of one thousand years since the death of the Prophet by issuing new coins and getting a history of the thousand years of Islam compiled. By the time Mujaddid started his mission much of the charm associated with the Millennium was

1. Muhammad Shams ul-Haq Azimabadi: *Al Sunan* with a commentary entitled *Ghayat ul-Maqsud* (Delhi, 1890).
2. *Najat ur-Rashid* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Mss.)
3. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 48 ; Bev., Vol. I, p. 142.
The subject is discussed, in detail, in an anonymous Encyclopaedia, compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb. The work lays great stress on the point that Timur was unanimously accepted as Mujaddid by the contemporary theologians and mystics. (W. Pertsch 99, Marburg Ms. Orient 8°97, ff. 72a-75b).

lost owing to its completion. It was therefore scarcely ingenious of Shaikh Ahmad to have called himself the *Mujaddid* of the second Millennium. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi attached no importance to the office. Mujaddid, however, wrote to his son, "Oh son ! All the *Maarif* and most perfect of all the *Ulum* have been revealed after one thousand years . . A time similar to that one has come which on account of its being laden with darkness demands the emergence of eminent prophets as it happened for the past *Ummat* (peoples), to resuscitate the *Shariat*. This *Ummat* is best of all *Ummats*. Their prophet is the last of the Messengers of the Almighty. The *Ulama* of this *Ummat* enjoy the status of the prophets of the Israelites. The *Ulama's* function is the function of the prophets. Therefore in the beginning of each century a *Mujaddid* is appointed (by the Almighty) from amongst the *Ulama* of this *Ummat* to renovate the *Shariat*, particularly so after the end of a Millennium when an eminent prophet springs up from amongst the past *Ummats*, as ordinary prophets were not very helpful on such occasions. A time like this demands the presence of a saintly *Alim* having a perfect *Marifat* who may take the place of the eminent prophets of the past *Ummats*."[1]

In another letter to one of his disciples, Mir Muhammad Numan, he wrote, "The Millennium has a great effect on the change of affairs, and wields a powerful influence over the alteration of things. As abrogation and change are unlawful in this *Ummat*, the verdure and freshness of the past has reappeared amongst the moderns and the *Shariat* has been strengthened, the *Millat* renewed."[2] In another letter to Mir Muhammad Numan, claiming quite categorically to be the *Mujaddid* of the second Millennium, he says, "Be it known that a *Mujaddid* has appeared at the head of each century but the *Mujaddid* of a century is different from that of a Millennium. Just as there is a world of difference between one hundred and one thousand, so does the *Mujaddid* of a century differ from that of a Millennium, in the same proportion, nay even more. The *Mujaddids* are those who are intermediaries for all the benefits which are received by the *Ummats* in those particular periods."[3] Thus all the authorities of the mystical hierarchy, *Aqtab*,[4] *Autad*, *Abdal* and *Najba* were made subordinate to a *Mujaddid* by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 234.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter no. 261.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 4.
4. *Supra*, p. 661.

The alleged innovations introduced by Akbar were not the only evils he claimed to combat, but also took upon himself the mission of purging Islam of all the impurities and impieties which had crept into it during the past 1,000 years in all the countries of the Muslim world. He considered that the Day of Resurrection was drawing nigh since 1,000 years had already passed since the days of the appearance of Prophet Muhammad.[1] As a Mujaddid, he did not care to evaluate the achievements of Islam in past centuries and how it had adjusted itself in different centuries to different environments, but he simply sought to turn the clock backwards. Discarding logic, reason and the sciences, he based his mission on mystic revelations and intuitions. Miracles and *Kashfs* were his main props and his disciples too laid greater emphasis on that aspect of Mujaddid's achievement. The author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* had remarked that it occurred to him that if some of the contemporary Alims were also to confirm that Shaikh Ahmad was appointed *Mujaddid* by the Almighty, that would greatly strengthen his claim. He reached Mujaddid one day with this idea in mind. Addressing the author, Mujaddid said that Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, who was unique in his age insofar as his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences was concerned and who was an author of scholarly works, had written a letter to him, and he smilingly added that one of the complimentary sentences contained the expression, "*Mujaddid* of the second Millennium."[2] Mujaddid was personally so sure of this office having been bestowed upon him by the Almighty that in a letter to his son Khwaja Muhammad Masum, drawing upon the tradition quoted in *Jama ul-Jawami*, he wrote, "Praise be to Allah who created me a conjoiner between two oceans and a pacifier between two parties."[3] A later writer has gone to the extent of saying that these traditions indicated the appearance of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi as a *Mujaddid*. He also added an apocryphal tradition about Prophet Muhammad from *Jami ud-Durar* saying, "A man will arise in the beginning of the 11th century, who will be a great light and whose name will be the same as mine ; (he will arise) amidst tyrant kings ; thousands of men will enter

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 23.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 176. Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti seems to have addressed him as 'Mujaddid', either without attaching any importance to the title or ironically, for he was a theologian of eclectic tendencies.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 6.

Paradise through his intercession."[1] The claim, however, did not remain confined to Shaikh Ahmad alone, but Kamgar Husaini, the author of *Maasri i-Jahangiri* on the basis of the above apocryphal traditions and verses of Khaqani, ascribed the title of the *Mujaddid* of the second Millennium to Shah Jahan.[2]

QAIYUM

An equally lofty title, which he claimed for himself and for his successors, was that of *Qaiyum*, which he popularised in the later years of his life. He based the idea of *Qaiyum* on the following verse of the *Quran* : "Surely we offered the *trust* to the heavens and the earth and mountains, but they refused to be unfaithful to it and feared from it, and man has turned unfaithful to it ; surely he is unjust, ignorant".[3] The "trust" in the above verse had always been a subject of great controversy among the commentators of the *Quran*, the Ulama and Sufis. Mujaddid interpreted this trust "as being the *Qaiyumiyat* of every object which the Almighty awarded to the "Perfect Man". "He is that exalted person on whom the whole order of existence depends. All the angels, spirits and human beings and every other object look towards him for assistance. He is the intermediary between man and the Almighty of all spiritual and mundane benefits. The *Arif*, on whom the dignity of a *Qaiyum* is bestowed, acts like a minister to a king ; and the business of created beings is conducted through him. Though favours are received from the king, the *Wazirs* are the intermediaries. The highest amongst the recipients of this blessing was Adam. Though this distinguished office is essentially meant for eminent prophets, it can be bestowed by the Almighty upon any dignitary, whom He desires, by way of inheritance."[4]

In a letter that he wrote from Ajmer to his son Muhammad Masum in *ca* 1032/1622-23, he informed him that the robe, which he had been wearing, had been exchanged for another one. The robe which he previously wore was conferred upon him (Khwaja Muhammad Masum).

1. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* (Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta) *Rukn* I, f. 14b. According to the same authority the robe of the *Tajdid* of the second Millennium was bestowed upon him by the Almighty on Friday the 12 Rabi I, 1010/10 Sept. 1601.
2. *Maasir i-Jahangiri* (Bodleian no. 223, Fraser 139), f. 11a.
3. *Quran* XXXIII, 72.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 74.

The *khilat* which was taken from him (*Mujaddid*) belonged to the affairs of the *Qaiyumiyat*. It was associated with training and perfection and formed a link between him and all that existed in the universe.[1]

Khwaja Muhammad Masum has also given a vivid account of the transfer of the *Qaiyumiyat* to him by his father in his life-time ; his father comforted him with the prophecy, "As long as I am alive, your existence will depend on me while the existence of others will depend upon you."[2] Elucidating the term *Qaiyum*, Khwaja Muhammad Masum says, "*Qaiyum* is the *Khalifa* of the Almighty in this world and His deputy. *Aqtab*[3] and *Abdal* are included in the circle of his *Zilal*[4] ; and *Afrad*[5] and *Autad* stick fast to the ocean of his perfection. All the *Afrad* of the world turn to him and he is the *Qibla*[6] of the attention of the mortals, whether they know it or not. Verily the whole order of existence depends upon him. There is no question of the *Afrad* of the world since they are the manifestations of Names and Attributes of the Almighty, nothing has been created in between them. Entirety is accident and specification. Accident and specification cannot be conceived without Being and Essence. The latter two depend on the former two. It is customary with the Almighty that after very long *qarans*, He allows an *Arif*[7] a share of His Being. He is bestowed an existence which, by virtue of the vicegerency and *Khilafat* awarded to him becomes the *Qaiyum* of all creation. All creation depends for its existence upon him."

Neither the claims of Mujaddid nor those of his successors are based on objective facts, but are founded on mystic intuition and revelation; as such they cannot be subjected to the test of cold logic and reason. Since Mujaddid himself freely criticised the mystic revelations and intuitions of others and found some of them to have originated from a morbid state of mind, his and his successor's claims could not be favourably received by his contemporaries, belonging to other *Silsilas* whose similar revelations and intuitions, he vehemently criticised.

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 104.
2. Khwaja Muhammad Masum : *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur Edition), Letter no. 86.
3. *Supra*, p. 6.
4. Adumberation, effect.
5. Probably counterpart of *Akhyar*.
6. That part to which people direct their prayers, specially the direction of Kaba.
7. Gnostic.

The most comprehensive criticism against the claims and doctrines of Mujaddid came from a person of no less eminence than Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi who considered himself a great well-wisher and friend of Mujaddid. Both of them were disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah but Shaikh Abdul Haq could not put up with what Mujaddid said regarding Prophet Muhammad though he did not object, whether willingly or unwillingly, to the statements that Mujaddid made about other saints.[1] Shaikh Abdul Haq, a man of cautious temperament as he was, preferred not to express his views openly regarding the aphorisms and claims of Mujaddid ; but the publication of the 87th letter of the third volume of the *Maktubat* appears to have spurred him on to action and he wrote a long letter severely criticising the objectionable statements of Mujaddid. His opinions were not based on the views of irresponsible rumour-mongers and a few interpolated letters, as the followers of Mujaddid seek to establish. Neither Mujaddid nor his followers refuted the letter.[3] Shaikh's letter shows that he arrived at his

1. Letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi to Mujaddid. (*Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 343, Rampur Mss.).

2. Mujaddid wrote the above letter to one Muhammad Salih Kaulabi. He says, "I am also a *Murid* (disciple) of Allah and a *Murad* (desire) too. The claim of my discipleship is linked with the Almighty direct, without any intermediary. My hand is the substitute of the hand of God. My claim of discipleship with Prophet Muhammad has many links, viz. twenty in the Naqshbandi Silsila, twenty-five in Qadiri and twenty-seven in Chishti, but, as has already been related, there is no intermediary so far as my discipleship with the Almighty is concerned. I am therefore a disciple of Prophet Muhammad as well as his fellow-disciple. Although on the plane of this felicity I am only a *Tufaili* (protege) near Prophet Muhammad, I have not reached it uninvited. Though I am a dependant, I have not lost my identity. I am an associate in felicity. My associateship is not such that it may be construed to mean equality, for it is a *kufr*. This associateship may be defined as one which exists between a servant and a master. I reached the plane of that felicity only because I was called upon to do so. So long as I was not required to do so, I did not extend my hand to this felicity. Although I am an *Uwaisi* (a saint who claims his connection with particular mystic order without being formally initiated by any one into it), I have a patron who is Omnipresent and Omniscient. Abdul Baqi is no doubt my preceptor in the Naqshbandi Silsila, it is the Almighty (al-Baqi) who is responsible for my training."

3. It is said that one Hasan Khan Afghan, a disciple of Mujaddid, deserted him and escaped with the drafts of some of his letters and, having interpolated spurious passages among them despatched copies of them to many eminent persons with a view to seducing them, for the opposition of Mujaddid. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis's letter is said to have been written on the basis of the interpolated letters. (*Jawahir i-Mujaddidiya*, p. 59).

conclusions after a careful study of all the letters of Mujaddid published in the first two volumes and those subsequently written by him which were later included in the third volume of Mujaddid's *Maktubat*. Shaikh Abdul Haq seems to have discussed the contents of Mujaddid's letters with his son Shaikh Nurul Haq too. The points which Shaikh Abdul Haq criticised are available in several of Mujaddid's letters and Shaikh Abdul Haq has thoroughly exposed the contradictions in Mujaddid's letters.[1] He did not relish Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's claims of being the *Mujaddid* of the second Millennium. He reiterated that *Darweshi* was nothing but self-mortification, humility, courtesy and politeness, and warned him that some *Aqtab* in the past had made statements emphasising their superiority and eminence over their contemporaries but none had made any such statement in regard to Prophet Muhammad. He wrote, "You could not remain content with challenging the eminent saints only but even challenged the Prophet of God. I do not know where you would reach next.[2]" He drew a parallel between the claims of Mujaddid and those of the followers of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur who observed that the latter possessed the same amount of perfection as was possessed by Muhammad the Prophet of God—the difference being only in the source of acquiring perfection. "Prophet Muhammad received perfection through direct communion with God while Saiyid Muhammad acquired it by implicitly obeying Prophet Muhammad. So Saiyid Muhammad became one like the Prophet.[3] Shaikh Abdul Haq did not approve of his making bold assertions without offering reasons and arguments for them. He desired him to strengthen his assertions with arguments and proofs in order to make them acceptable. Referring to Shaikh Baqi Billah's opinion about Mujaddid, which the latter would quote in his letters, Shaikh Abdul Haq informed him that he knew the same more than others, but had Khwaja Baqi Billah been alive he would not have approved of his statements. Shaikh Abdul Haq was very critical of the arguments which Mujaddid had propounded in his letters against the pantheistic philosophy of Muhi ud-Din ibn Arabi. Furthermore, he did not like the glossings which Mujaddid himself gave to his own controversial statements. He did not agree with Mujaddid's interpretation of the *Hadis* regarding Ulama. He

1. *Letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq*. (*Hayat i-Shaikh Abdul Haq*), pp. 314-320.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was not sure whether Abdul Haq ascribed the above belief to the utterances of Saiyid Muhammad or to the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad. (*Tazkira*, p. 48). Shaikh Abdul Haq ascribed them to the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad. *Letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq, Hayat*, p. 318.

criticised him for depending too much upon the tradition : 'the *Ulama* of his *Ummat* are superior to the prophets of the Israelites', which he regarded as apocryphal and pointed out that the correct tradition was: "The *Ulama* are the successors of the Prophet,"[1] and that the *Ulama* of the *Ummat* could not acquire the status of the prophets.

Shaikh Abdul Haq regarded Mujaddid's remarks against the eminent saints of the past as indiscreet and accused him of using against them those verses of the *Quran* which were directed against the *kafirs*. Some of the aphorisms which Mujaddid claimed to have received through intuition and revelation were proved by Shaikh Abdul Haq to be nothing but the usual articles of faith, and he deemed it simply presumptuous and trivial to publicise those aphorisms as being the product of his personal intuition or revelation.

Abdul Haq held Mujaddid guilty of one more charge, *viz.* of indiscriminately ascribing the aphorisms of some eminent saints to the effects of *Sukr* which is nothing but a reflection of a morbid state of mind. Shaikh Abdul Qadir's declaration, that his feet were on the necks of all the saints, was justified by Shaikh Abdul Haq on the plea of its being strictly in accordance with the divine ordinance and held Mujaddid to be in the wrong if the latter ascribed it to *Sukr*.[2] Thus

1. *cf.* Mulla Ali Qari : *Mauzuat*, (Delhi), p. 48.
2. Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, a modern critic and a man of considerable eminence, says :

   "Let us now consider the claims of Shah Wali ullah and Mujaddid Sirhindi. I am accused of refusing to believe in the innocence of the eminent religious heads of the past ; rather if I say their correct statements as correct, I do not hesitate in calling a spade a spade. I shudder to be too outspoken in this matter lest another charge be added to my charge sheet. But, as one must subordinate the fear of world to the fear of God, I cannot help saying, irrespective of what the world would say, that it is certainly one of the wrong actions on the part of these two sages to personally proclaim of their being *Mujaddids* and to repeatedly explain this view point on the basis of divine revelations and inspirations. It is these mistakes of theirs which have encouraged many unscrupulous ones to make different types of claims and to cause dissension and raise controversial issues in the *Ummat*. If a man is able to render some service towards the renovation of the faith, he must ungrudgingly do it leaving it to God to judge his actions and to assign him a place accordingly in the heaven. The real place of a man is the one which the Almighty affords him after judging his bonafides and actions, and not that which he claims for himself or which others may give him. It is no good a thing to coin titles and epithets for one's own self and to assertively describe them, as also to boast of the *Maqamat* (mystic stages) one has reached." (Abul Ala Maududi : *Tajdid wa Ihya i-Din*, Rampur, 1954, pp. 161-162).

the efforts of Mujaddid for the purification of the faith were eclipsed by miracles, mystic revelations and intuitions which have so enthusiastically been related by his contemporary disciples, let alone the later ones who lent a legendary character to Mujaddid and his successors It is, therefore, essential that we should examine the impression they were able to create in the places to which they were deputed.[1]

AGRA

Like other eminent saints and founders of important *Silsilas*, Mujaddid had deputed his distinguished disciples to different provinces and towns. Agra and the Mughul cantonment of the capital were assigned to Shaikh Badi ud-Din Saharanpuri.[2] It is surprising to note that prior to his appointment the capital did not have any *Khalifa* of Mujaddid.[3] It appears that Mujaddid himself, during his occasional visits to Agra, had realized that not much success could be achieved there. However, Shaikh Badi ud-Din, who was allowed to go to Saharanpur, was subsequently transferred to Agra and directed not to leave the place without permission. It is said that in the beginning he achieved great success but being anyhow misled, left for Saharanpur without the permission of his preceptor. Mujaddid was highly displeased, hence Shaikh Badi ud-Din

1. A modern scholar writes, "The Mujaddid's influence continued to work after him. He had trained a number of workers who held aloft the torch." (I. H Qureshi : *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, p. 158). The above conclusion is not based on facts.
2. He first came in contact with Mujaddid as a student interested in the study of the *Talwih*. He had in the beginning no faith in *Darweshes* and would often criticise Shaikh Ahmad about whom he had by then not acquired much knowledge. He in those days resided with a *Darwesh* who never liked his criticisms and would predict Shaikh Ahmad's spiritual greatness. He neglected his studies due to his having fallen in love with a youth. He neither performed *Namaz*, nor did he abstain from committing sins. One day Mujaddid enquired of him the reason of such lapses on his part. Badi ud-Din told him, "Such advices have been regularly given to me. If you can bring a change in me through some miracle, please do it." Mujaddid directed him to come to him next day with that intention. As chance would have it, Badi ud-Din's beloved reached his house the next day and he could not leave him. He went to Mujaddid after two or three days; the latter, after admonishing him for not keeping his promise, took him to a private room and taught him the *Zikr*. This had the desired effect. He so came to love Mujaddid's *Tawajjuh* (attention) that he at once became unconscious and came to his senses after a day and night. He made very rapid progress under the care of Mujaddid and served him with great devotion. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p 347).
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 347.

returned to Agra. Mujaddid did not like even this. He informed him, "You could have attained success only at that time. I am not now responsible for your actions." Badi ud-Din thought, "Mujaddid is at present angry, but gradually the position would change." On this occasion too he is said to have achieved considerable success but the town, being the capital of India, was full of tumultuous military people who were devoid of sincerity or respect for others. Badi ud-Din would severely admonish those who would come in contact with him and boast of his high spiritual attainments. He was apparently pestered for the explanation of the eleventh letter written by Mujaddid to Khwaja Baqi Billah. The popular opposition against him mounted to great heights resulting ultimately in his imprisonment at the instance of the Emperor.[1] Later on he was released and allowed to go to Saharanpur where he preferred to lead a retired life. The author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* met him at Saharanpur. He had then reached fifty.[2] He died in 1042/1632-33 and was buried in the courtyard of his mosque.[3]

The failure of Badi ud-Din to impress the people of Agra and the hardships which he had to undergo bear ample testimony to the fact that the mission which he was called upon to pursue did not make any headway there. Though the *Mujaddidi* scholars ascribe Badi ud-Din's failure to his disobedience of the orders of his preceptor, and find solace in their invention that the Emperor, being ashamed of his misdeeds, later expressed regret ; that there had occurred many rebellions in his empire, that the Persians snatched a number of his important provinces ; and that he himself fell fatally ill, the causes of Badi ud-Din's failure can very easily be read between the lines of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*.[4]

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 348.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 348-349.
3. *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 602-604
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 348. It is not clear as to when Jahangir expressed his regrets. Qandahar was lost in 1622 after the release of Mujaddid when, according to his apologists, he exercised immense influence over Jahangir's policies and politics. It is astonishing that the consequences of severe action against Badi ud-Din, *viz.*, the loss of Qandahar, fatal illness and ultimate death, recoiled on Jahangir during the alleged ascendancy of Mujaddid. This shows that even the contemporary scholars who manufactured such traditions did not pay attention to the elementary historical facts and did not avoid self-contradictions.

Jahangir was not at all impressed by either the Naqshbandis or Mujaddid. Muhammad Hashim has very clearly remarked that the Emperor had no interest in these people. Muslims at Agra did not take much interest in the polemics of Mujaddid. Badi ud-Din too was not less undiplomatic; he was, in fact, highly presumptuous. He wrote to Mujaddid, "Prophet Muhammad has informed me that I am the lamp of India."[1] He was present at Agra when Mujaddid was summoned there, but neither his nor Mujaddid's influence could save him from the gallows.[2] The letters of Mujaddid and the efforts of Badi ud-Din bore no fruit at Agra, for the process of social and cultural rapprochement between Muslims and Hindus continued unabated in the capital, and the principle of peaceful co-existence reigned supreme there.

Awadh and Allahabad

Apparently, Awadh never had any important disciple of Mujaddid. It was rather difficult for Mujaddid's disciples to nullify the influence in Awadh of Shah Mina, Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq Rudaulwi, Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami and others. The hymns of Malik Muhammad Jaisi had taken firm roots in the hearts of the people of Awadh. Even the process of conversion was not a one-sided affair there. So eminent a noble as Ahmad Khan, son of Mubarak Lodi, the Governor of Lucknow, had abjured Islam in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi on account of his close contacts with Hindus.[3] However, Shaikh Muhibbullah was appointed by Mujaddid to propagate his mission at Manikpur. He was originally the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad b. Fazlullah Burhanpuri who had appointed him his *Khalifa*. At Burhanpur he came in contact with Mir Muhammad Numan and became acquainted with the teachings of the Naqshbandis and the letters of Mujaddid. He subsequently left for Sirhind where he lived for a long time. Mujaddid appointed him as his *Khalifa* and asked him to repair to his native land, Manikpur, and preach his mission there. Mujaddid himself wrote to Mir Muhammad Numan regarding his achievements and informed him that he had attained the stage of *Fana* and that he was being deputed to Manikpur.[4] He was not, however, welcomed

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 130a.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 351.
3. *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 331.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 382.

there and his life was made miserable by his relations and other inhabitants of the town. He complained to Mujaddid and besought his permission to shift to Allahabad. Mujaddid did not at first welcome such a request; but ultimately, on being constrained to give his consent he informed him, "The special flavour of a stay in that place consists in those very troubles and hardships that you undergo there. You want to escape from tasting that flavour. Persons brought up amidst ease and comfort can be no match to trying situations and will fail to stand trouble and distress. What can you do? You have sought my consent to shift to Allahabad. You are allowed to live there so that you may be relieved of the troubles of Manikpur and enjoy peace for a time. This is only for the sake of facility but your work requires you to have patience and forbearance in troublous times. You know I am seriously ill these days, and this prevents me from writing more."[1]

This letter forms part of the third volume of the *Maktubat* which comprises letters written after 1028/1618-19. It is evident from the above letter that almost till the close of Mujaddid's career, Shaikh Muhibbullah could not even live peacefully at Manikpur. He was not satisfied with the permission so reluctantly given by Mujaddid. Therefore, he went on pressing him till Mujaddid had to write him, "I came to know of the matters written out by you in uttar despair and distress. Despair is *kufr*. You should remain confident. If you can manage to have control over two matters there is nothing to worry : (1) unflinching obedience to the *Shariat*, (2) devotion to the Shaikh of *Tariqat*. You should constantly keep on praying that you may not lose these two boons. The rest would not matter and can be compensated easily. I had already permitted you earlier to shift to Allahabad in case you were not able to get on at Manikpur. Such permission had all my blessings but you could not be convinced of it, rather thought that it was accorded to you unwillingly. To dispel that doubt from your mind, I now repeat it. Yesterday night, I saw in a vision that your household effects were being shifted from Manikpur to Allahabad. You should stay there, constantly engage yourself in *Zikr* and should have no truck with any one."[2]

Mujaddid had realised from the reports, probably trickling down to him from Manikpur and Allahabad, that it was not possible to propagate his teachings there, but since he did not want to keep the place

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 7 ; *Mirat i-Jahan Numa*, p. 608.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 13.

vacant, he insisted on Shaikh Muhibbullah's stay in Allahabad ; and in order to avoid complications he had advised him to lead a retired life.

JAUNPUR

Jaunpur was assigned to Shaikh Tahir Badakhshi. His ancestors resided in a fort under the dependency of Rustaq[1] in Badakhshan. He, too, served in the military in the beginning. While going on a campaign he saw Prophet Muhammad in a vision. After the completion of the campaign he gave up his profession and left his native land in search of a perfect guide or a saint. When he reached Delhi, Baqi Billah was no more in this world ; so he was introduced to Mujaddid by Mir Muhammad Numan.[2] In a short period of about three months he is said to have reached a very high stage in his mystic journey. Nevertheless, he was a very simple Turk and would relate his mystic experiences in such a way that Mujaddid generally laughed at his simplicity.[3]

It appears that he had not adequately followed the instructions given him by Mujaddid to govern his stay at Jaunpur. From his manners and behaviour people considered him to be a *Malamati*.[4] There already lived an influential saint, Shaikh Abdul Aziz Jaunpuri who was a staunch follower of Shaikh Muhi ud-Din ibn Arabi. It could not be possible for the unassuming Shaikh Tahir Badakhshi, who had hardly learnt anything except mystic revelations, to stand before and nullify the reasonings of Shaikh Abdul Aziz and his disciples. He would, therefore, generally forward Shaikh Abdul Aziz's letters to Mujaddid who used to meet the criticisms they contained.[5] The disciple, who was rather intellectually deficient must have been a laughing stock for the

1. For revolts against Uzbegs in 910/1504-5 see "*The Babur-Nama*" in English, p. 242.
2. When Mujaddid used to relate his mystic experiences and inspirations, he would move his head and utter "truly, indeed" etc. in such a fashion that Mujaddid would laugh and remark, "The reaction of Maulana shows that these mystic experiences and inspirations are revealed to him". (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 365).
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 364-365.
4. A type of Sufi who conceals his devotion, makes no parade of anything good, hides nothing bad with a view that people should not disturb him.
5. *cf.* Letter of Mujaddid to Shaikh Abdul Aziz criticising the teachings of Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi at some length. (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no.1. Letter no. 27 of Vol. II, addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Badakhshi further explains the criticisms of Shaikh Abdul Aziz.

people of Jaunpur. Shaikh Tahir, frankly and ungrudgingly admitting his failure, wrote to Mujaddid when he was staying at Ajmer, that the seekers paid little attention to him. Mujaddid was compelled to remark, "He is a simpleton of a strange type. One should mind the protection of one's own faith, belief and goal. In this course if the Almighty were to send someone to him and assign his teaching and training to him he should teach him exclusively for God's sake. To attract the heart of the seeker, an attitude completely devoid of *malamat* should be adopted." He also wrote to him, "I had permitted some of my devoted followers to initiate disciples so that they might liberate the people from the whirlpool of error and guide them on to the path of the Almighty. They were required to devote themselves to the Almighty along with their disciples and to make spiritual progress. Having a firm grip on this cord they should devote the rest of their life to God and should try to see that their disciples are persons who are also able to attain this blessing. They should not misconstrue the permission accorded to them for initiating disciples by the whim that they have already attained perfection ; nor should they miss the real goal." He also remarked, "Those who come to you for initiation should be considered as tigers and lions. You should always be afraid lest you misguide them. If you find any pleasure amidst the crowd of your disciples, you should consider it as *kufr* and *shirk* . For indulging in such *kufr* you should be so repentant as to wash every trace of the erstwhile pleasure from your mind."

Another warning tendered to Shaikh Tahir appears strange indeed. He was warned against seeking anything from the wealth of a disciple. This hindered the salvation of the disciple and created much confusion. "Faith and nothing but faith should be aimed at and no other motive be associated with the guidance of a disciple. All the darkness and impiety which cloud the heart can be removed by repentance and seeking forgiveness but the darkness and distress that overpower the heart on account of the love for the contemptible world is very difficult to remove", wrote he.[1]

The above approach is contrary to Mujaddid's teachings. He did not preach quietism, and sought to extend the area of his influence through nobles or rulers. This advice seems to have been given in view of Shaikh Tahir's unpopularity in Jaunpur which is also borne out from the letters written by him to Mujaddid.

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 366-367.

BIHAR

Bihar was an important centre of pantheistic tendencies due to the influence of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari, and other pantheists associated with him and his disciples. The letters of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari were constantly referred to Mujaddid for explanation. These letters had a preponderating influence over the mind of the Muslim intelligentsia. He was naturally anxious to have a hold over the Muslims of Bihar and the eastern parts of India. Consequently he deputed Shaikh Nur Muhammad and Shaikh Abdul Hai, two of his eminent disciples, to Patna.

In his quest for a perfect guide Shaikh Nur Muhammad, after acquiring formal education, had travelled far and wide and ultimately reached Khwaja Baqi Billah. The latter taught him the *Zikr* of the Naqshbandis and asked Mujaddid to train him in the practices of the *Silsila*.[1] He made striking progress under him and Mujaddid was happy to communicate to Baqi Billah his achievements[2]. In about 1015/1606 Mujaddid made him his *Khalifa* and permitted him to go to Patna to preach the *Mujaddidi* ideology. He constructed a hut for his residence there and a thatched mosque on the bank of the Ganges.[3]

He preferred to lead a retired life and usually avoided mixing with the people. When Mujaddid was informed of his attitude he wrote to him, "As there is no way out but to follow the commands given by the Almighty and avoid all that which has been prohibited by Him, in the same manner there is no help but to pay proper attention towards the people and to help them. . . It is therefore essential that you should have patience and mix with people. Irritability and indifference are undesirable."[4] It appears that the admonitions were unable to change the life of Shaikh Nur Muhammad much and Mujaddid had to depute Shaikh Abdul Hai, son of Khwaja Chakar Hisari, to preach his ideology in the city.

Shaikh Abdul Hai belonged to Hisar Shadman.[5] Before coming into contact with Mujaddid he had settled in Patna. After some time he visited Mujaddid and excelled most of the disciples in loyalty to his

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 351 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 116a.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 11.
3. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, ff. 116a-116b.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 171.
5. Hisar Shadman, Hisar or Hisarak, for short, is in Transoxiana.

preceptor. Naturally, Mujaddid reposed great confidence in him ; he would confide to him even his secret spiritual attainments.[1] He also compiled the second volume of his letters in 1028/1618-19 at the instance of Mujaddid's son, Shaikh Muhammad Masum.[2]

When he was deputed to Patna Mujaddid wrote to Shaikh Nur Muhammad, "Shaikh Abdul Hai is your fellow citizen and has reached your vicinity. He is a compendium of rare type of knowledge and mystic contemplation. He possesses much concerning this path. Association with him should be considered a great boon by those mystics who are far from me, as he has recently reached there and has taken new things with him. He is even acquainted with *Fana* and *Baqa* and is aware of ecstasies and the mystic path. He is conversant even with those stages which are far ahead of *Fana* and *Baqa*, ecstasies and the mystic path. It may also be said that he traverses those stages. He has heard of a lot of rare mystic contemplations contained in my letters and has followed them through constant enquiries."[3]

This letter was apparently written to remove all the misgivings of Shaikh Nur Muhammad who was formerly deputed there, but had failed to achieve any success. However, in order to satisfy Shaikh Nur Muhammad he would describe the presence of both in Patna as the conjunction of two auspicious stars.[4] Shaikh Abdul Hai is claimed by *Mujaddidis* to have achieved a considerable degree of success but the presence of two eminent disciples of the same saint at one place must have given birth to a lot of confusion, let alone the influence of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari which was too hard a nut, for them, to crack.

BENGAL

Mujaddid did not leave even Bengal neglected and appointed Shaikh Hamid to this eastern portion of India. Shaikh Hamid originally belonged to Mangal Kot, a town in Bengal. After completing his formal education in Lahore, he left for his native land and stayed at Agra with Khwaja Abdur Rahman, a *Mufti* in the royal army. There, quite

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, ff. 141a-143a, ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 375-376.
2. Preface to Vol. II of *Maktubat*. *Nurul Khalaiq* gives the date of compilation.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 85,
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 376,

accidently, he came in contact with Mujaddid and became his disciple.[1] He went with him to Sirhind where he remained with him for about one or two years.

In his case the alleged ascent from *Wahdat ul-Wujud* to *Wahdat i-Shuhud* appears to have taken a very long time or might not have taken place at all. The works of Muhammad Hashim and Badr ud-Din introduce him to the reader as an outright pantheist. Mir Muhammad Numan, it is said, was once going to some place alongwith Shaikh Hamid. They found the dead body of an animal lying on the road with teeth widely exposed. The very sight of the carcass threw Shaikh Hamid into a fit of ecstasy and he cried out, "Oh God! What sort of coquetry is this that Thou manifests Thyself in this form?"[2] He would find in himself a curious type of love for every object. Mujaddid appointed him as a *Khalifa* in Bengal. This appointment suggests that Shaikh Hamid might have shown some leanings towards *Wahdat i-Shuhud* when under Mujaddid. but in Bengal he paid no heed towards the teachings of his preceptor and persisted in pantheistic beliefs throughout his life. When he was deputed to Bengal he, unlike other disciples, did not make any request for a *khirqa* but obtained a shoe of Mujaddid and carried it in his mouth for some distance. Afterwards he put it in his turban.[3] This shoe always remained an object of veneration for him and others. He placed it in a separate cell constructed in his native land. When the people would approach him to cure their diseases

1. It is said that in his early career Shaikh Hamid was not interested in Sufism, rather vehemently criticised *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and Mujaddid as well. Perchance when Mujaddid reached Agra he stayed in the vicinity of Khwaja Abdur Rahman *Mufti*. When Shaikh Hamid was informed of the arrival of Mujaddid he left the place of Abdur Rahman and shifted to some other place. Two or three days later he went to the *Mufti* to bring a book which he had forgotten. Mujaddid also reached his house just then. Mufti Abdur Rahman welcomed Mujaddid and took him to his house. Shaikh Hamid was overtaken by shame and embarrassment. He sat down in a corner of the house. Mujaddid enquired of a *fatwa* from Mufti Abdur Rahman and looked at Shaikh Hamid once or twice and enquired whether he was still at that very place. Shaikh Hamid was so inspired with Mujaddid that, when he left the house, he also followed him weeping and shedding tears. When Mujaddid reached the house where he was staying, he called Shaikh Hamid in and initiated him as his disciple. It is said that when Mujaddid left for Sirhind, Shaikh Hamid followed him. (*Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 354-355 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, ff. 118a).

2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 356 ; یارب این چه اداست بااین کسوت درآمدن وخود را چنین وانمودن

3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 353.

they would bring an earthen tumbler filled with water ; he would dip an edge of the shoe in the water and, it is said, they were cured by that water. A strange phenomenon was, the anecdote goes, noticed, in case the water was to be administered to someone who was destined to die, *viz.* the earthen tumbler would break into pieces as soon as the shoe touched the water. After Shaikh Hamid's death a niche was prepared by the side of his grave and the shoe was kept in it. This accounted for a large assembly of the needy and the sick round the grave.[1]

Thus it was not the teachings of Mujaddid which were propagated in Bengal but it was the miraculous power of the shoe that received tremendous publicity. Mujaddid must have received the accounts of the miraculous effects of his shoe with horror. Shaikh Hamid did not write letters to Mujaddid for seven or eight years and the latter had to ask Shaikh Abdul Hai, who was deputed to Patna, to go to Bengal and make enquiries about him. In this letter to Shaikh Hamid, Mujaddid wrote, "You have taken to a stange type of retired life indeed and do not care even to write a letter. During these seven or eight years only one letter was received from you, and that too was incomplete and haphazardly scribed. I am unaware if my letters have at all reached you.[2] Since Abdul Hai was going to his native land, I asked him to try to visit you once and to obtain information about you. Shaikh Abdul Hai had been in my service for about five years. A large number of assignments were given to him. He has full knowledge of my mystic attainments and *Maarif.* I have directed him to stay with you for some days and to acquaint you with necessary mystic knowledge and *Maarif.* You should also relate your mystic states and experiences to him and follow the advice tendered by him. The rest he will relate to you personally."[3]

Since Shaikh Hamid was himself an eminent disciple of Mujaddid and had received a very important assignment, Shaikh Abdul Hai could

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds,* Vol. II, f. 119a.
2. Letter no. 158 of Volume I addressed to Shaikh Hamid, briefly deals with the various stages of perfection which a mystic is able to acquire. Letter no. 220 comprises an account of some lapses of the Sufis and emphasises the need of strictly adhering to the *Shariat.* It vehemently criticises the pantheism and the mystic revelations, and the experiences of the *Wujudis* are described as "a rudimentary stage of mystic progress." Letter no. 6 of the second volume criticises the attitude of those saints who regarded *Wilayat* superior to *Nubuwat.* Letter no. 84 introduces Shaikh Abdul Hai to him.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani,* Vol. II, Letter no. 84.

not see as to how he could be of any help to Shaikh Hamid. When Shaikh Abdul Hai reached Mangal Kot from Patna, he was warmly welcomed by Shaikh Hamid. During the conversation Shaikh Hamid told Abdul Hai, "Mujaddid and some other saints are of the opinion that the love of Prophet Muhammad is indispensable for the mystics, but I hold that if someone's heart is able to acquire the love of the Almighty, on other love can find any place in it." Shaikh Abdul Hai was shocked at this conversation and emphasised that the love of Prophet Muhammad was nothing but the love of the Almighty. Shaikh Hamid, according to the author of *Hazrat ul-Quds*, was thereupon very much ashamed;[1] but it is hardly tenable that he might have given up his way and manners. The letter which Mujaddid wrote after the visit of Shaikh Abdul Hai also does not support the contention of Shaikh Badr ud-Din. Shaikh Hamid continued to adhere to the pantheism and the ideology of Mujaddid could not even be preached in Bengal.

PUNJAB

Haji Khizr Khan Afghan was deputed to Bahlolpur, near Sirhind, and Bajwara. A number of Afghans of these two places had become his disciples. He left a deep impression upon Mujaddid's mind, so much so that the latter gave him the pet name of 'Khizra'. The most important of Haji Khizr's disciples was Shaikh Adam Banuri who had created great stir in Lahore during the reign of Shah Jahan.[2]

Lahore was assigned by Mujaddid to one of his most eminent disciples, Tahir Lahori. Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Kabuli was also deputed by Mujaddid there. Before coming into contact with Mujaddid, Shaikh Tahir Lahori had already acquired an important position amongst the Ulama and saints of Lahore. As Lahore was an important centre of the Qadiri and Chishti orders he was allowed to initiate disciples into these two orders also.[3] He preferred to lead a quiet life and earned his livelihood by selling important works on *Tafsir* and *Hadis* which he would himself copy out. For a greater portion of his life he remained a celebate and married at the fag end of his life ostensibly to comply with the requirements of the *Shariat*. He was a

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 142a.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 383-384; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, f. 149a.
3. *Khilafat Namah* of Shaikh Muhammad Tahir ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, ff. 120b-121a,

good conversationalist but usually disallowed people to pay him visits particularly the nobles and the well-to-do could in no case find access to him. He used to visit Mujaddid very frequently. Though Mujaddid called him the *Qutb* of his region,[1] his quiet nature and retired life coupled with the presence of a number of eminent pantheists like Miyan Mir stood as a great handicap in achieving any success in the propagation of the ideology of Mujaddid.

Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Kabuli, another eminent disciple of Mujaddid, also propogated the latter's mission at Lahore. He was originally attached to the retinue of Prince Salim at Allahabad. Impelled by the yearning for the quest of God he left the service of Prince Salim and reached Delhi. Khwaja Baqi Billah had by then passed away, so he was advised to go to Sirhind and enrol himself amongst the disciples of Mujaddid. Mujaddid held Muhammad Sadiq in great confidence and generally kept him with him.[2] This naturally prevented him from paying frequent visits to Lahore and performing his duties as *Khalifa* there.

QANDAHAR, KABUL ETC.

Mujaddid deputed some of his disciples to Qandahar, Kabul and Transoxiana also. Shaikh Karim ud-Din or Shaikh Abdul Karim, who belonged to Hasan Abdal, was later deputed by Mujaddid to propagate his mission in his homeland. He is said to have obtained considerable success there.[3] Shaikh Ahmad Barki belonged to Bark, a place between Qandahar and Kabul. He led a simple life like that of an ordinary Alim and had no presumptions. It is said that during the ferocious attack of Ahdad Raushanai in his vicinity, it was only his place which was spared any destruction, a chance ascribed by the credulous followers of Mujaddid to his blessings. The latter was highly impressed by his attainments and regarded him as a *Qutb* of that region.[4] After his death in 1026/1617 he was succeeded by his disciple Shaikh Hasan Burki who had been initiated by Mujaddid also.[5]

ESTIMATE OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF MUJADDID'S KHALIFAS

Whatever success the Naqshbandis were able to achieve in certain areas, it was due to the adjustments which the followers of the order

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 340-346; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 123.a
2. *Hazrat ul-Quds*. Vol. II, f. 132a.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 385-390.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 368-370
5. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 379-380.

had made in accordance with the local conditions and circumstances. Even in Kabul the Naqshbandis had made so many compromises and adjustments in their practices that Mujaddid had to write to Khwaja Muhammad Ashraf Kabuli, "You should know that the order of Khwajgan is the nearest of all the paths which lead to God. It begins from where others end. Their *nisbat*[1] is superior to that of others. The main reason of the above is that they insist on *Sunnat* and avoid the *Bidat*. As far as possible they do not even look for 'facility', even if it may apparently be profitable. They do not refrain from adhering to what is obligatory, even though it may appear injurious. They have made their mystic experiences and ecstasies subordinate to the commandments of *Shara*. Like children they do not prefer the nuts and raisins of ecstasy and rapture to the excellent essence of the *Shara* and are not proud and enamoured of the trifles of the Sufis. They do not abandon *Nass*.[2] Ignoring the *Futuhat i-Madina* (*Hadis*) they do not pay attention to *Futuhat i-Makkiya* (Ibn Arabi)."

But he was not satisfied with some of the later *Khalifas* of the Naqshbandi order who had permitted innovations in the same and had forsaken the real traditions of their elders. Some of the disciples of those *Khalifas* believed that the innovations had resulted in making the order perfect whereas he emphatically asserted that they had ruined it. He says, "Alas ! Alas ! They have invented such *Bidats* in this order which are conspicuous by their absence in other orders. They perform the *Tahajjud* prayer in congregation and the people from all sides assemble for that prayer at the time. They perform it with perfect composure." He added, "It is really strange that in the towns of the *Ulama* (Kabul) which was once the homeland of great *Mujtahids*, such types of innovations are in vogue, though we *Faqirs* have acquired the Islamic teachings through their blessings."[3]

It is not known how far the reforms were brought about in Kabul in the light of Mujaddid's criticisms but it is clear that implicit obedience to the *Shara* in the form prescribed by him, had no popular appeal even there. Naturally his disciples, who had to face the Muslim population, had to effect certain adjustments even at the cost of the pleasure of their preceptor. A letter Mujaddid wrote to Khan i-Khanan seeking his help in popularising the spirit of the teachings of the

1. Mystic connection or relation.
2. Rulings in accordance with the *Quran* and the *Hadis*.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 131.

Naqshbandi order shows that his disciples had made innumerable adjustments in his teachings and the help of a noble was therefore solicited in the fulfilment of a mission which could not adequately be preached by his disciples. He wrote to him, "Since it is known to the *Faqir* that you are sincerely devoted to the great leaders of the Naqshbandi Silsila, hence this trouble to you. The people of this *Silsila* are foreigners to this land. People of this land (Indians), on account of the popularity of *Bidat*, do not feel attracted towards these great men who insist on *Sunnat*. It is this very fact which has prompted some followers of this *Silsila* to adopt *Bidat* for want of farsightedness. They attract the hearts of the people towards themselves by allowing them to commit *Bidat*. It is a matter of conviction with them to consider those practices as means of achieving success. God forbid, these people are trying to spell destruction of this order and have not been able to follow the essence of the teachings of the leaders of this *Silsila*."[1]

The letters of Mujaddid to the nobles and other people and a number of the *Khalifas*, whom he had appointed in different places, failed to further his plans; on the other hand they caused considerable stir in the social and political sphere. The interference of religious heads in political matters and their hand in fomenting rebellions were not unknown in the times of Akbar and Jahangir. Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari, '*Shaiyad*'[2] in the words of Jahangir, had to be banished to Mecca by the Emperor for having espoused and blessed the cause of Khusrau.[3]

Saiyid Ahmad Afghan

The role of Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, an eminent saint of Bajwara a dependency of the Punjab situated near Sirhind, deserves special mention. He too was supposed to be a potent danger to the state. He was the son of Shaikh-Muhammad b. Ilyas Gharghashi who instructed him in theology and mysticism. He was strongly opposed to the pantheistic philosophy of Muhi ud-Din ibn Arabi and was a devoted protagonist of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani. He succeeded his father after the latters' death in 1001/1592-93. When the imperial army was returning after inflicting defeat on Khusrau, one of the companions

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Letter no. 62.
2. An impostor, a hypocrite. Jahangir has used the same word for Mujaddid also.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (Sir Saiyid edition, p. 28); (R. & B.), Vol. I, p. 60.

of the Emperor explained how the Safawi Saiyids could acquire possession over the kingdom of Iran. Meanwhile someone reported, "There are certain contemporaries of the Emperor too, who, though dressed as *Darwesh*, posses a kingdom under their command by virtue of the vast number of soldiers, who are their disciples. Of these, most prominent is Saiyid Ahmad Afghan who has incited a number of rebellions amongst the Afghans who reside in Bajwara and its vicinity. None of the Afghans dare disobey his orders." He was accordingly summoned to the Court. On reaching the court, he did not pay obeisance in accordance with the imperial custom; hence, to use the expression of Ghausi Shattari, that "mad one" was imprisoned in Gwalior Fort, which was "a school to make the people disciplined," so that he "might put on the collar of good behaviour round his neck." Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, therefore, remained imprisoned there for three years. When Khan i-Jahan, who was formerly known as Pir Khan b. Daulat Khan Lodi, was appointed as the Governor of Khandesh and the Deccan in 1019/1610-11, he, on his way to his new assignment, stayed at Gwalior and wrote a petition requesting that Saiyid Ahmad might be allowed to accompany him in that campaign. His request was granted. Consequently, Saiyid Ahmad lived for some time with him at Burhanpur. When Khan i-Jahan, on being summoned back from Burhanpur to Agra, reached Mandu on 26 Shaban 1020/3 November, 1611, Ghausi Shattari also met Saiyid Ahmad Afghan and alongwith Khan i-Jahan Lodi, discussed Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani's approach towards an aphorism of Muhi ud-Din ibn Arbi with him.[1]

Muhammad Sadiq, the author of *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani* who had visited Saiyid Ahmad Afghan in Gwalior Fort, has highly extolled his spiritual eminence. According to him, Saiyid Ahmad Afghan had gained immense ecstatic power and divine grace. He led a life like that of kings. Afghans who lived around Bajwara were profoundly devoted to him. Some of the companions of Jahangir submitted that since all the Afghan tribes were devoted and loyal to Saiyid Ahmad, he could be instrumental in fomenting disorder in the realm as had been the case with some *Darweshes*. It was ordered that he should be summoned to the court. When he was presented, he did not observe the formal court etiquette of paying obeisance. He was, therefore, sent to Gwalior where he remained imprisoned for some time. On being set free, he

1. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 342b-346a.

repaired to his native land and remained devoted to the *Shariat.* He breathed his last in 1027/1617-18.[1]

IMPRISONMENT OF MUJADID

Like those of so many other saints and religious leaders, Mujaddid's activities and debbling in politics were bound to be looked at with the eye of suspicion. Barring a few Naqshbandis, the followers of the other *Silsilas* viewed the assertions of Mujaddid and those of his followers with horror. They had genuine reasons to feel agitated. The publication of the first two volumes of his letters had accentuated the excitement of the people. This was aggravated by the harsh behaviour of his disciples, due perhaps to the latter's imperfect understanding of the teachings of Mujaddid. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi's classification of Mujaddid's disciples into the following three categories, based on the varying degree of their understanding of Mujaddid's teachings, fully corroborates the above contention :

1. Those who believed Mujaddid's aphorisms without understanding them. They maintained, "How can we dare understand his aphorisms ? Whateyer he says we believe it to be true."

2. Those who believed that whatever Mujaddid said belonged to the state of *Sukr* and ecstasy.

3. Those who believed that whatever Mujaddid said or did was in conformity with the commandments of the Almighty.[2]

The disciples of Mujaddid, however, did not hesitate to circulate spurious tales of Mujaddid's influence over all the contemporary saints and nobles. Shaikh Badi ud-Din Saharanpuri, who was deputed by Mujaddid to Agra, informed the author of *Hazrat ul-Quds* that on reaching Ujjain he went to visit Jadrup Jogi to whom the Emperor and the contemporary nobles were sincerely devoted. The Jogi on seeing Badi ud-Din said to him, "Why are you going ahead leaving behind your preceptor who has surpassed all the contemporary saints in perfection?" Shaikh Badi ud-Din enquired how he came to know of it. The Jogi replied, "God has revealed to me that there exists no other saint these days superior to your preceptor." Badi ud-Din asked,

1. Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani : *Tabaqai i-Shahjahani* (Aligarh University, Habibganj Mss.), p. 439.

2. *Shaikh Abdul Haq's letter to Mujaddid, Hayat,* p. 338.

"Why do you not then submit to him?" The Jogi, replied, "I am perfect in my own religion, so I do not need him."[1]

The charge-sheet, served against Mujaddid by Jahangir, given at some length in *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* by the Emperor himself in the accounts of the fourteenth regnal year, explains the position very clearly. He writes : "At this time it was reported to me that a *Shaikh* of the name Shaikh Ahmad had spread the net of hypocrisy and deceit in Sirhind, and caught in it many of the apparent worshippers without spirituality, and had sent into every city and country one of his disciples, whom he called his deputy (*Khalifa*), and whom he considered more skilled than others in the adorning of shops (of deceit) and selling of religious knowledge and in deceiving men. He had also written a number of idle tales to his disciples and his believers, and had made them into a book which he called *Maktubat.* In that album (*jung*) of absurdities many unprofitable things had been written that drag (people) into *kufr* and *Zindiqa.* Amongst these he had written in a letter as follows: In the course of my mystic travels I had come to the *Maqam* of Zun-nurain and found it a very lofty and splendid *Maqam.* From there I passed to the *Maqam* of Faruq and from there I passed to the *Maqam* of Siddiq· (He wrote an account of each *Maqam*). From there I reached the *Maqam* of *Mahbubiyat.* I found it extremely brilliant and possessing diverse colours. I found myself reflecting different lights and colours. That is to say, God forgive us! (an exclamation of Jahangir's), I passed from the *Maqam* of the Caliphs to that of the highest rank. There were other presumptuous expressions which are too long to quote, and would be contrary to good manners, to do so.

"I accordingly gave an order that he should be brought to the Court that is based on justice. According to the order he came to pay his respects. To all that I asked him he could give no reasonable answer, and appeared to me to be extremely proud and self-satisfied with all his ignorance.[2] I considered the best thing for him would be that he should remain some time in the prison of correction until the heat of his temperament and confusion of his brain were somewhat

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 128a. It is gratifying that Shaikh Badi ud-Din did not claim that Gosain Jadrup was a Muslim at heart as, according to him, Bikramajit the conqueror of Kangra fort was. (*Infra*, p. 309).

ازهرچه پرسیدم جواب معقول نتوانست سامان نمود وباعدم خردودانش بغایت مغرور وخود پسند ظاهرشد

quenched, and the excitement of the people also should subside. He was accordingly handed over to Anirai Sing Dalan to be imprisoned in Gwalior Fort."[1]

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has corroborated Jahangir's statement in his cautious and restrained style. He also did not approve of the behaviour of Mujaddid and his disciples, which he considered indiscreet and wanting in decorum. In his letter to Mujaddid, Shaikh Abdul Haq wrote, "Since past many years I had been desiring to enquire and explore about certain aphorisms and statements available in your letters which are vague and doubtful but this could not be possible either due to the consideration of your noble heart which is most touchy or due to the fear of the babbling of some of your disciples who are most indiscreet and uncautious in quoting your aphorisms and statements.

"The detailed exposition of the obove is as follows: After reaching the service of Khwaja Muhammad Baqi and after acquiring the benefits of this *Silsila* under him, you began to make progress. You started giving publicity to your mystic progress and achievements during the life-time of the Khwaja and later on after his death. All these are without any limit and beyond imagination, so much so that the people got perplexed. In connection with finding faults and lapses of the eminent saints, who are unanimously acclaimed for their greatness *viz*, Saiyid ut-Taifa Junaid Baghdadi, Sultan ul-Arifin Bayizid Bistami, etc., you have mentioned that these poor fellows were not able to hit the mark and find out the reality but were rather entangled in the veils and the like. The pretensions made by you are such as have never been made by anyone else. This has filled the hearts of the people with horror, and they generally clamour that you have been disrespectful to the Khwaja who was your *Pir* and benefactor. You have been ungrateful insofar as you were negligent of showing that amount of respect which was expected of a disciple like you. Though, according to the conventions of the Sufis, it may be possible for a disciple to surpass his preceptor (in spiritual attainments), such a privileged position does not certainly permit the disciple to ignore showing courtesy, devotion, servitude, humility and gratefulness which are due to the Master."[2]

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), pp. 272-273 ; (R & B), pp. 92-93. Beveridge's translation is confusing.

2. *Letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi*. (*Hayat*, pp. 313-314).

Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi has clearly brought out the causes of popular resentment against Mujaddid and it was the duty of the Emperor to ascertain the facts for himself. It is strange to notice that Muhammad Hashim, the earliest biographer of Mujaddid, has not given any account of the causes of his imprisonment, though he has made some passing references regarding the incident at different places.[1] In connection with the account of Shaikh Badi ud-Din, a *Khalifa* of Mujaddid, who was deputed by him to Agra, he says, "In the days when Mujaddid had fallen in the eyes of the Emperor, resulting in his being summoned to Agra, there was a fellow citizen and relation of Shaikh Badi ud-Din who was a great favourite of the Emperor. He was on terms of bitter enmity with Mujaddid and Shaikh Badi ud-Din. Shaikh Badi ud-Din went to the house of that worthless fellow with a view to preventing him from communicating undesirable things to the Sultan. He most humbly requested him not to oppose Mujaddid and added that the relations, despite their mutual enmity and antagonism, helped each other in their difficulties. That wretched fellow showed still greater pride and enmity and said that his desires of so many years, were going to be fulfilled and that he (Badi ud-Din) would see what he would do. The Maulana underwent a mystic trance and said quite agitatedly, 'We shall see who deals with the other first.' The Shaikh, in a state of excitement, reached his cell and prayed to the Almighty for the noble's speedy end. That mischievous fellow passed away before he could have time to do any back-biting."[2]

Mir Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani, who dedicated his *Majma ul-Auliya* to Shahjahan, the first draft of which contained a number of anecdotes relating to Mujaddid and Jahangir, makes no mention of Mujaddid's imprisonment. Shaikh Badr ud-Din b. Ibrahim Sirhindi, who completed *Hazrat ul-Quds* not earlier than 1053/1643, has given the account of Mujaddid's imprisonment at some length. He says, "When Mujaddid was presented before Jahangir on account of his utterances, the Emperor enquired if he had correctly heard about the latter's having written to the effect that his status was higher than that of Siddiq i-Akbar. He gave the usual reply[3] and illustrated it with the example :

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 84, 159, 195, 213, 351.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 351. According to the author of *Hazrat ul-Quds* he died within two or three days. (*Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 130a).
3. Pleaded not guilty.

'If Your Majesty is pleased to call someone for any business, show favour to him and discuss some secret matter, he would be compelled to cross the line of *Panj Hazaris* to reach Your Majesty's presence. Afterwards he would return to his place and stand there. This does not mean that his status would be on a higher pedestal than those of the *Panj Hazaris*.' The Emperor, on this reply, abandoned the idea of punishing him.

"Meanwhile some ungodly person submitted, 'Your Majesty might have noticed that this Shaikh has not performed *Sijda* before Your Majesty who is the shadow and *Khalifa* of the Almighty. He has not even observed the formal courtesy which is generally shown to each other'. The Emperor was frightfully agitated to hear these remarks and ordered his imprisonment in Gwalior (Fort)."[1]

Before this, Prince Khurram, who, according to *Mujaddidi* sources, was sincerely devoted to Mujaddid, had sent to him Allami Afzal Khan and Khwaja Abdur Rahman Mufti with the works on *Fiqh* to explain, "It is lawful to perform the complimentary *Sijda* before the rulers. If you perform *Sijda*, I stand as a surety that no harm will be done to you." Mujaddid replied, "It is a matter of choice but it is obligatory that *Sijda* should not be performed before anyone other than God."[2]

The manner in which this story is narrated divests it of its naturalness and gives it a suspicious colour. Its earlier portion shows that the question of *Sijda* was taken up by some opponent of Mujaddid only casually and it was not anticipated earlier. However, the later portion of the narrative shows that the matter was previously discussed thoroughly. The author at another place ascribes Mujaddid's imprisonment to the enmity of some unholy person and Mujaddid's refusal to perform complimentary *Sijda* to the Emperor quite in contravention of the customary court etiquette.

In a later Naqshbandi source, *Manaqib ul-Hazrat*, the incident, on the basis of *Hazrat ul-Quds*, has been elaborated with more imagination. It says that Mujaddid had written a number of treatises in refutation of

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 39a.
2. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, f. 39a. In a letter to Mir Muhammad Numan, Mujaddid had briefly discussed the topic and informed him that it was not proper for the rulers to allow people to perform *Sijda* before them. (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 92).

the *Rafzis*. In the reign of Jahangir the *Rafzis* had acquired preponderance. They became his enemies, and alienated the Emperor from him and said, "This Shaikh Ahmad Sahrindi (Sirhindi) claims himself superior to Abu Bakr" and submitted his letter no. 11 to the Emperor. Mujaddid very ably explained the criticisms and illustrated his reply with the example, "If Your Majesty has to call a soldier near Your royal self and has to speak something in his ears, he will be compelled to cross the line of *Panj Hazaris* to reach Your Majesty's presence but ultimately he will have to return to his place and stand there. This would not mean that his status has exceeded that of *Dah Hazaris*." Hearing this reply, the Emperor abandoned the idea of punishing him. *Rafzis* saw that Mujaddid was being let off unpunished, hence they unanimously asserted : "This presumptuous Shaikh has not performed complimentary *Sijda* to Your Majesty, on the strength of a very large following in the army. This crowd of nobles and the plebians around him may in the near future cause some disturbance and flames of rebellion may engulf the whole Empire." On account of the fraud of those who nursed envy against him, he was imprisoned.

Before this incident, Prince Khurram who was sincerely devoted to him, had sent the *Muftis* with *fatwas* of *Faqihs* to the effect that "The complimentary *Sijda* to rulers is lawful. If you pay respect to him, no harm would visit you." He replied, "The *fatwas* indicate only choice but it is obligatory that the *Sijda* should be performed before none but God."

This work also adds that Shaikh Ahmad, in the beginning of his mystic discipline, used to recount most of his mystic experiences to his *Pir* so that he might become familiar with his perfections and shortcomings, for "in accordance with the discipline of *Piri* and *Muridi* it is essential that *Murid* should inform his *Pir* regarding each mystic state or incident which he faces, and if he fails to do so he is regarded as a rebel and his progress is marred."[1] Consequently, on one occasion he had made a mystic ascent. In that state he, passing through the *Maqam* of the *Walis* and companions of Prophet Muhammad, reached the *Maqam* of the Prophet himself. He had communicated his mystic experiences and spiritual progress to his Shaikh. This letter accidentally fell into the hands of the *Rafzis*. In those days most of the *Wazirs* and servants of the Emperor belonged to that sect. Criticising that very

1. This statement is based on Mujaddid's letter to Shaikh Badi ud-Din of Saharanpur. (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 192).

spiritual ascent they began to give publicity to the fact that such and such Shaikh considered himself superior to Siddiq i-Akbar. The *Wazir*, to serve his own selfish ends, kept the Emperor under the influence of wine so that he might conveniently work upon his mind and emotions. One day, when the Emperor was badly drunk, they brought the matter up with him and represented, "Your Majesty considers Abu Bakr Siddiq superior to all the *Walis*, but Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi considers himself superior to Abu Bakr." The Emperor was highly enraged at this report and summoned him from Sirhind to make enquiries. He noticed that the Emperor, being intoxicated, was incapable of following the subtle arguments and realities. He replied in a commonplace strain, "I do not regard myself superior even to a dog. How can I ever consider myself superior to Abu Bakr?[1] Since I received mystic illumination and ascent, I wrote to my Shaikh secretly with a view to ascertaining its propriety or impropriety. My enemies on account of their ignorance have reported the matter incorrectly to Your Majesty. There are a number of replies to the charge, but the most fitting one is that I have been summoned after fifty years (of my life) by Your Majesty. Passing through the *Maqam* of *Amirs* and princes I am now standing near Your Majesty. It cannot be construed to mean that I am superior to *Panj Hazaris* and *Dah Hazaris*. My real place is the same old house of mine which is well-known in Sahrind. I have been brought to Your Majesty only once and that too after a long time. I have been made to cross the lines of *Amirs* and approach Your Majesty. At this very time, reverting to my original position, I shall go to my home and shall remain confined to my original place throughout my life. Your Majesty's *Wazirs* and *Amirs* shall always remain near Your Majesty. People like me come once during their life time for some business and leave the court. Similarly the companions of Prophet Muhammad shall always remain near him and the seekers like me reach the Prophet once in their life time. After performing their business they retire to their original place and shall remain there throughout their lives." The Emperor was exceedingly happy with this simple and unaffected reply, so he dismissed him with honour. The enemies of the Shaikh found

1 In a letter to Mirza Fathullah Khan Hakim, Mujaddid informed him that two types of people consider themselves superior to Abu Bakr Siddiq : (a) An out and out atheist, and (b) a perfect fool. He further added, "One who considers Hazrat Amir (Ali) superior to Hazrat Siddiq (Abu Bakr) cannot be included in the group of Sunnis. How can then I claim myself superior to Abu Bakr ?" (*Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 202).

to their great dismay that the latter had successfully escaped. They contrived another snare for him and told the Emperor when he was badly intoxicated, "The Shaikh has got such a large number of soldiers under him that he only requires to desire to become an emperor. History is full of the accounts of such and such Shaikh having snatched the kingdom from a particular ruler with the help of a large following of disciples and becoming the ruler himself." Such a trick had its desired effect on the Emperor who, growing afraid of Mujaddid, ordered his imprisonment.[1]

A later source, *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, which is extremely popular with the Naqshbandis, says that Shaikh Badi ud-Din, who was deputed to Agra in the 15th year of *Tajdid i-Alif* and *Qaiyumiyat*, wrote a letter of recommendation to Itimad ud-Daula using common-place epithets for him. His son Asaf Khan fretted with anger on seeing the letter. He told the Emperor, "Shaikh Ahmad has got one lakh of well-armed soldiers with him enjoying at the same time the staunch devotion of the rulers of Iran, Turan and Badakhshan. One of his disciples Shaikh Badi ud-Din had come to Your Majesty's military camp. All the nobles have become his disciples. Mujaddid is contemplating to become the Emperor. If he wills to do so he can collect such a large army of his disciples that no ruler of the past or present might ever have collected. Shah Ismail was also a *Faqir* like him and took possession of Iran's throne with an army of his disciples."[2] The Emperor ordered that no one should meet Badi ud-Din, but the imperial order fell on deaf ears as the people continued meeting him secretly. The *Wazir* began to hatch a plot to annihilate Shaikh Mujaddid. In the sixteenth year of *Tajdid i-Alif* the Emperor despatched Khan i-Khanan, Khan i-Azam, Khan i-Jahan Lodi, Sikandar Khan Lodi, Tarbiyat Khan, Saiyid Sadr i-Jahan, Islam Khan, Qasim Khan, Jabbari Khan, Mahabat Khan, Darya Khan and Murtaza Khan, etc, to distant provinces. Khan i-Khanan was deputed to the Deccan, Saiyid Sadr i-Jahan to the eastern provinces, Khan i-Jahan Lodi to Malwa, Khan i-Azam to Gujarat and Mahabat Khan to Kabul. Afterwards the Emperor sent a petition to Mujaddid expressing his anxiety to see him and his *Khalifas*. Mujaddid reached Agra with only five disciples, though he had one thousand six hundred *Khalifas* with him at that time. The Emperor deputed the *Amirs* to accord him a welcome. But the *Wazir* summoned him to the

1. Muhammad Amin : *Manaqib ul-Hazrat* (Personal Collection), ff. 29b-30a.
2. Kamal ud-Din Muhammad Ihsan : *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya, Rukn* I, ff. 69b-70a.

Emperor's presence at a time when the latter was badly intoxicated. Mujaddid neither performed the *Sijda* nor did he show any formal courtesy. The Emperor happened to take no exception to it. The *Wazir* therefore suggested to him, "This is the very person who has claimed himself superior to all the Prophets." But Mujaddid bluntly contradicted the charge, satisfying the Emperor thereby. Finding his arrow had missed the mark, the *Wazir* tried another and persuaded the Emperor to ask Mujaddid to perform *Sijda* ; Mujaddid flatly refused to obey the orders of the Emperor. Mulla Abdur Rahman Mufti told Mujaddid, "I am giving you a *fatwa* to the effect that you can perform *Sijda* to save your life." Mujaddid paid no heed to the *fatwa*. The Emperor thereupon asked him only to bend his head a little and that he would not be pressed for *Sijda*. Even this offer was not acceptable to Mujaddid. The Emperor asked ten nobles of a very strong built to bend his head a little. But with all their might and efforts they could not bend Mujaddid's head even though he was very lean and thin. The Emperor then asked him to pass through a door of low height but he passed in a manner that he had not to bend his head. This was too much for the Emperor to put up with, so he easily yielded to the persuasions of the *Wazir* to imprison Mujaddid and the latter was subsequently confined in Gwalior Fort.[1]

The story is entirely apocryphal and hardly merits any serious attention. An analysis of *Mujaddidi* traditions on the subject shows that the author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* has preferred to remain silent on the circumstances of Mujaddid's arrest though he has incidentally mentioned the event in a different context. *Hazrat ul-Quds* and *Manaqib ul-Hazrat* have divided the incident into two parts. According to them, the Emperor was in the first instance satisfied by the reply given by Mujaddid and it was only later that his enemies prevailed upon the Emperor to demand the performance of *Sijda* from him. Prince Khurram tried to induce Mujaddid to perform *Sijda* but he refused and courted imprisonment in Gwalior Fort on the orders of the Emperor. The two stages are not so marked in *Hazrat ul-Quds* as they are in *Manaqib ul-Hazrat* and the anecdotes went on increasing till the incident was given the shape of a legend by the author of *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*.

Refusal to perform *Sijda* was by no means an act without a parallel, for Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, a neighbour of Shaikh Ahmad

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 72b-73a.

Sirhindi, in the early years of Jahangir's reign, had not hesitated to refuse to perform *Sijda* and thereby to court arrest. It cannot, therefore, be presumed that Muhammad Hashim, the author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, who completed his work in 1037/1627-28, would have hesitated to relate the story of Mujaddid's refusal to perform *Sijda* on account of political fear, for *Gulzar i-Abrar*, dedicated to Jahangir, contains a vivid account of Saiyid Ahmad Afghan. It is curious to note that the author of *Majma ul-Auliya* too, who wrote his work in 1043/1633-34 and has recounted a number of Mujaddid's miracles, has entirely omitted mention of the incident. Mujaddid was restored to Jahangir's favour and Shahjahan is said to have been anxious to help Mujaddid. More glowing details of the incident could therefore have been given by the authors of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat* and *Majma ul-Auliya* without any hesitation, had there been the merest iota of truth in it. In this connection it should not be forgotten that religious divines had been exempted from the performance of *Sijda* in the 6th year of Jahangir's reign. The Emperor says "By way of special respect to the *Shariat* I ordered that *Mir Adls* and *Qazis*, who are the pivots of the affairs of the *Shariat*, should not perform *Zamin Bos*, which is a kind of *Sijda*, before me."[1] Hence asking Mujaddid, certainly superior to the *Qazis* and *Mir Adls*, to perform *Sijda* eight years afterwards in the 14th year of his reign appears quite ridiculous. The charge-sheet served by Jahangir is quite unequivocal and frank. Mujaddid could not satisfy the Emperor on the matter of his alleged "presumptuous expressions," and "with all his ignorance" appeared to him to be "extremely proud and self-conceited."[2] It appears that Shaikh Badr ud-Din b. Ibrahim Sirhindi, a disciple of Mujaddid, got inspiration from *Gulzar i-Abrar* which contained the story of the refusal of Mujaddid's neighbour, Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, to perform *Sijda* and he has fitted the cap of Saiyid Ahmad Afghan on Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's head. Subsequent *Mujaddidi* scholars went on adding imaginary elements to the incident.

No mention has been made of Mujaddid in any of the chronicles recorded in Jahangir's reign. Even a casual reference of Mujaddid or Shaikh Muhammad Masum is not available in the chronicles of Shahjahan's reign, though some of them have given an account of Husam

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 99.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

ud-Din at some length.[1] *Mirat ul-Alam* gives a brief biographical account of Mujaddid and his successors while the account about them in *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* is more detailed ; but none of them has made any mention of either Mujaddid's refusal to observe the court etiquette of tendering obeisance or his reluctance to perform *Sijda.* It seems that they did not attach any importance to his imprisonment.

The period of Shaikh Ahmad's imprisonment lasted over a year. In connection with the account of the 15th year of his reign Jahangir writes, "On this day Shaikh Ahmad of Sahrind (Sirhind), who had for sometime been placed in the prison of correction for adorning his shop, selling himself (boasting) and immoderate language, was summoned to my presence, and I released him, giving him a *khilat* and one thousand rupees for expenses, and making him free to go or to remain. He justly represented that his punishment had really been a valuable lesson to him ; so he expressed a desire to remain in my service."[2]

The contemporary *Mujaddidi Tazkiras* do not deal with the account of incidents relating to the period Mujaddid remained imprisoned, in Gwalior Fort. Only stray references are available in the above works. It is said that someone informed Mujaddid when in Gwalior Fort, "You have been imprisoned here on account of the *Rafzis* and your release is therefore very difficult." He replied, "I am sure to be released for I have to convey some spiritual gifts to someone, an eventuality possible only in the case of being released."[3] Shaikh Muhammad b. Fazlullah of Burhanpur, it is alleged, also used to pray for Mujaddid's release.[4] Mujaddid, however, did not lose his patience throughout the period of his imprisonment, rather afforded comfort and consolation to his disciples regularly. He wrote to Mir Muhammad Numan, "As long as I did not taste the delicious syrup of insult and incivility

1. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol, I, (*Bib. Ind.* 1867), p. 335 ; Mirza Muhammad Amin b. Abi'l Husain Qazwini : *Padshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), p. 855 ; Muhammad Salih Kamboh : *Amal i-Salih* (*Bib. Ind.* 1939), Vol. III, p. 379. The above works also give a brief notice of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud too. [*Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, p. 332 ; *Padshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 854-855 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 369-370].

2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. II, p. 161, Sir Saiyid edition, p. 308.
دریں تاریخ شیخ احمد سہرندی راکہ بجہت دوکان آرائی وخود فروشی وبی صرفہ گوئي روزی چند
در زندان ادب محبوس بودبحضور طلب داشتہ خلاص ساختیم......از روی انصاف معروض داشت کہ
ایں تنبیہ وتادیب درحقیقت ہدایتی و کفایتی بود

3. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 66b.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, Vol. II, p. 195.

and did not eat the confection of ignominy and dishonour, I could not enjoy the reproaches and reprehensions of the people nor could relish the elegance of their cruelty and oppression."[1] He considered his imprisonment to have a very soothing effect on his mystic life. It made him hopeful of the mercy and compassion of the Almighty. Some of his disciples were, however, highly distressed due to the censure and reproach of the general populace. Shaikh Badi ud-Din was the main target of their reproaches and he was highly dejected. Mujaddid wrote him, "You had made mention of the censure and reproaches of the people. It is the grace for this crowd and is a polish for the rust of (their hearts). There is no occasion for depression and anguish. In the beginning when this *Faqir* entered this fort he began to feel that the light of the censure of people was constantly reaching him like the illuminating clouds from each town and village and were taking the affairs from the lower extremity to the zenith. We had been traversing our mystic journey in the years gone by in accordance with the divine training based on *Jamal*[2] and now we are traversing it in accordance with the divine training based on His *Jalal*.[3] We should have not only patience but acquiescence also and consider *Jamal* and *Jalal* both at par with each other. You have written that since this calamity befell, you have been finding neither *Zauq*[4] nor *Hal*.[5] As a matter of fact both *Zauq* and *Hal* ought to have increased. The cruelty of the Beloved is certainly more tasteful than His bounty. What has happened to you that you are talking like common people ? You are going astray from His love. As compared with the past, you should consider His *Jalal* to be of greater value than His *Jamal*, and give preference to the afflictions over the munificence, for in a state of *Jamal* and grace the wishes of the Beloved are mingled with the wishes of the seekers while in a state of *Jalal* and afflictions, the unmingled desires of the Beloved are aimed at."[6]

The imprisonment of Mujaddid did not in the least stir up the political atmosphere of Agra. No political repercussions of the incident are mentioned to either in the contemporary *Mujaddidi Tazkiras* or in contemporary or later chronicles. The later *Mujaddidi Tazkiras* and,

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 5
2. Grace of the Almighty.
3. Awe of the Almighty.
4 Distinction between truth and falsehood by the light of divine grace.
5. Ecstasy.
6. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 6

following them, some modern scholars have recounted certain incidents, quite unhistorical and baseless. The author of *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* writes, "When the nobles like Khan i-Khanan, Khan i-Azam, Saiyid Sadr i-Jahan, Islam Khan, Mahabat Khan, Murtaza Khan, Qasim Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Khan i-Jahan Lodi, Sikandar Lodi, Hayat Khan and Dariya Khan came to know of the imprisonment of Mujaddid, they lost no time in taking up a decision to fight the Emperor under the command of Mahabat Khan. They solicited reinforcements from the rulers of Badakhshan, Khurasan and Turan. When a huge army was assembled under Mahabat Khan, he courageously proceeded to exclude the name of the Emperor from *Khutba* and *Sikka*. The Emperor was extremely worried at this news. In view of a large number of the supporters of Mujaddid, the *Wazir* placed Gwalior Fort under a strong guard of one thousand of his loyal adherents, mostly his relations, but to the *Wazir's* great dismay, they all turned disciples of Mujaddid. The Emperor, with a huge army, marched against Mahabat Khan towards Kabul. When the Emperor left the capital the nobles, posted in various provinces, went into rebellion *en masse* and expelled the imperial officers from their territories. In reply to their invitation to ascend the throne, Mujaddid informed the nobles not to worry on his account for he had himself courted arrest, and advised them to remain loyal to the Emperor. When the Emperor reached the Jhelum he was taken prisoner after a minor skirmish. The *Wazir* did his utmost to secure the release of His Imperial Majesty but met with no success. Placed in a tight situation, the *Wazir* had no course but to tender an apology to Mahabat Khan; both he and the Emperor repented for having imprisoned Mujaddid. Mahabat Khan in the meanwhile received through Khan i-Khanan instructions to submit to the Emperor, for Mujaddid himself did not favour any rebellion. According to some people the Emperor allegedly remained imprisoned for three days and according to the others for seven. Afterwards, the Emperor marched towards Kashmir. The *Wazir* remained in the repentant mood for a brief period only, and then again took to his nefarious activities. Nur Jahan[1] and Prince Khurram too interceded, though quite abortively, with the Emperor to secure the release of Mujaddid. By chance, the Emperor fell seriously ill and in a mood of despair invited Mujaddid from Gwalior. Mujaddid stipulated the following conditions before agreeing to visit the Emperor :

1. Mr. K. A. Nizami, in a paper on "Naqshbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics" read in the Islamic Studies section of 26th International Congress of Orientalists 1964, blamed Nur Jahan for Mujaddid's imprisonment.

1. *Sijda* should be abolished ;

2. All the mosques which had been demolished in his dominion should be re-erected. He should also build a mosque at the gate of public audience hall to save the Muslims from any difficulty in offering prayers ;

3. The Emperor should slaughter a cow with his own hand and should permit, indeed order, the slaughter of cows in all the villages and towns in his dominion ;

4. *Qazis*, *Muftis* and *Muhtasibs* etc. should be appointed to enforce the *Shara* ;

5. *Jizya* should be re-imposed upon the *kafirs* ;

6. Unlawful customs should be abolished and *Bidat* or innovations should be stopped. The *Shariat* should be fully enforced ;

7. All the prisoners (in Gwalior Fort) should be released.

The Emperor accepted all the conditions and sent some nobles who set Mujaddid free with full state honours. The occasion was marked by a general release of all the prisoners confined in the Fort and all of them accompanied Mujaddid to Sirhind. Mujaddid on his way got mosques and *madrasahs* constructed and the officers to enforce the *Shara* appointed. He also got butchers appointed for the slaughter of cows. After a brief halt lasting for three days or so in Sirhind, Mujaddid set off towards Kashmir to join the imperial camp. The Emperor sent his son and *Wazir* to accord a welcome to Mujaddid. On nearing the bed of the Emperor, Mujaddid reminded him of the acceptance of his conditions and the Emperor asked him to pray for his recovery and good health. Mujaddid requested for water to perform *Wazu*. A golden *lota* and a basin were brought for the purpose. Mujaddid told the Emperor that it was unlawful to use gold and silver vessels. The Emperor then requested him to explain what he actually meant by 'unlawful'. Mujaddid began to explain the meanings of 'unlawful'. Empress Nur Jahan was watching the proceedings from behind the curtain. She at once sent a *lota* and a basin made of crystal. Mujaddid prayed for the Emperor who was cured, and who subsequently enrolled himself amongst his disciples. The Emperor at once issued peremptory orders for the construction of mosques and *madrasahs* in each city, town and village of his dominion, for the open sale of beef in the streets and bazaars, for the appointment of *Muhtasibs* in all the cities and for the abolition of all types of *Bidat*. He waged war against *kafirs* and prohibited the performance of *Sijda* before him. As desired by Mujaddid the Emperor himself slaughtered

a cow and the nobles too slaughtered cows at the gate of the audience hall. The Emperor and the nobles performed prayers behind Mujaddid. The latter's presence in the royal company was solicited to ward off the recurrence of the evil practices of the past."[1]

The above anecdote is sufficient to give an idea how the *Mujaddidis* sought to make him a legendary figure within a century of his death. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* has tried to prove that not a single event took place either in later years of Akbar's reign or that of Jahangir which was not in some way or the other ordered by Mujaddid. The above account of the event which has been accepted in different forms in later works sounds suspiciously like a cock-and-bull story. Some modern scholars on the basis of the above anecdote have rejected the evidences of contemporary chronicles.[2] Mujaddid was released much before Mahabat Khan's *coup de main.* There is no evidence to show that any general order for cow slaughter or the re-imposition of *jizya* was issued. No restrictions were ever placed by either Akbar or Jahangir on the construction of mosques or *madrasahs* or the offering of *Namaz.* Writing the account of the 6th year of his reign, Jahangir says, "I ordered that *jai namaz* (prayer carpets) should be made of the skins of the antelopes I had myself killed, and be kept in the public audience hall for people to use in saying their prayers." *Zamin Bos* which was a form of *Sijda* was also abolished in the same year for the Muslim religious divines.[3] Appointment of *Qazis* was never prohibited either in Jahangir's reign or that of Akbar. Some delay might have been made somewhere in the appointment of *Qazis* or some *Qazis* might not have been of Mujaddid's liking, but neither of these can be interpreted to prove a deliberate neglect of the appointment of *Qazis.*

Nor can any evidence of a change in the policy of Jahangir be gleaned from *Tuzuk* or other contemporary and later sources of Jahangir's reign. Just after mentioning the release of Mujaddid, Jahangir writes, "The picture gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired ; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbas. After them were the likenesses of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad

1. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, ff. 77a-78b.
2. Burhan Ahmad Faruqi : *The Mujaddid's conception of Tauhid* (Lahore, 1940), pp. 23-27.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 99.

Hakim, Shah Murad and Sultan Daniyal. On the second storey (row) were the likenesses of the *Amirs* and special servants."[1] In October of the same year *Dasehra* was celebrated by Jahangir even in Kashmir. According to the annual custom, the horses and special stables were decorated.[2]

Kamal ud-Din Muhammad Ihsan, the author of *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, himself knew that the account of Mahabat Khan's *coup de main* as given by him was quite unhistorical. He has therefore remarked, "Some historians who have given an account of the Emperor have related the incident of Mahabat's crossing the river and his imprisonment by the latter in a different manner, but I have based my account on reliable evidence."[3] The statement of Kamal ud-Din leaves no doubt that the followers of Mujaddid went on adding imaginary stories of the superiority of their preceptor and never cared to reconcile their inventions with historical facts. The legendary anecdotes did not appeal to the sober Indian Muslims of the seventeenth century who were conversant with contemporary events. A modern scholar, however, on the basis of *Rauzat ul Qaiyumiya* says, "The Shaikh's influence spread into Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Ottoman empire in the west and Malaya and Indonesia in the east."[4]

An idea of the way the fantastic stories, invented to prove Mujaddid's influence over Jahangir after the former's release from imprisonment, were cooked up, may be had from a similar anecdote which was incorporated in the original draft of *Majma ul-Auliya* (completed in 1043/1633-34) but was later deleted from it and is not now available in the manuscripts copied from that draft. The anecdote goes, "Emperor Nur ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir fell so seriously ill on account of an asthmatic attack during his return journey from Kashmir that all sorts of treatment and efforts made by the physicians failed to cure him of the ailment. The Emperor was told to approach the saints to pray for his recovery. The Emperor requested Mujaddid to come to his court. The latter reached the Imperial Court in compliance of the royal orders. On being informed of Mujaddid's arrival, the Emperor summoned him to his presence in the palace and requested him to pray for his recovery. Mujaddid said, 'We shall pray and you will

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. II, pp. 161-162.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 176.
3. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* (*Rukn* I), ff. 76b-77a.
4. I. H. Qureshi : *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, p. 152.

recover but you on your part should pledge yourself to the task of enforcing the Islamic practices which have long been abolished. You should order the construction of mosques and the performance of Friday and congregational prayers. An order should be issued immediately for the construction of a mosque before the doors of *Ghusul Khana* and *Imam*, *Muizzin* and water carriers should be appointed so that people may be able to perform congregational prayers without any hesitation.' The Emperor said, 'Whatever you have said will be complied with.' He immediately issued orders for the construction of mosques and appointment of *Imams* and *Muizzins*. Afterwards, during the life-time of Jahangir mosques continued to be constructed and *Imams* and *Muizzins* appointed. People used to perform congregational prayers also. Mujaddid, therefore, taking his *shal* (mantle) from his shoulders spread it under his feet and performed prayers for the recovery of the Emperor. On account of Mujaddid's prayers the Emperor recovered the same night. When he reached Sirhind he said to Mujaddid, 'Shaikh Jeo ! I have recovered on account of your prayers. Tomorrow I shall put an end to all the restrictions placed on my diet by eating the food cooked in your house. Mujaddid sent some food in earthen pots to the Emperor through his sons. After eating the food from Mujaddid's place, the Emperor remarked to Asaf Khan, 'The food prepared in Shaikh's house which I have taken is extremely delicious particularly the chicken dishes. I have eaten half of it and have preserved the remaining half which I shall take later on.' The Emperor then asked Asaf Khan to request Mujaddid to accept a daily allowance from him. Mujaddid replied, '*Faqirs* of the doors of the Almighty depend fully for their subsistence on Him.' So he did not accept anything despite Asaf Khan's entreaties."[1]

There is much in common between the anecdotes which the *Mujaddidis* sought to propagate in the reign of Shahjahan and those which were subsequently popularised. The anecdote in *Majma ul-Auliya* depicts Jahangir as giving a pledge to Mujaddid when the former fell ill, while according to *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* Mujaddid did not leave Gwalior Fort until Jahangir gave a pledge as mentioned above.

MUJADDID IN THE IMPERIAL CAMP

It appears that some nobles might have interceded with Jahangir on behalf of Mujaddid to secure his release and Jahangir in his turn might have acceded to their request after having seen that Mujaddid's

1. Mir Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani : *Majma ul-Auliya* (Ethe, 645), ff. 441b-442b; *cf.* Rampur Mss. no. 2306.

imprisonment had silenced the agitation against him. Mujaddid had also seen that despite the best of his efforts his disciples had failed to create the desired effect on the minds of the people. The nobles to whom he wrote letters to persuade Jahangir to further his teachings proved incapable of achieving any success. His great supporter, Murtaza Khan, had also died. Mujaddid therefore preferred not to lose the opportunity of propagating his mission personally when he was given the choice to stay or to depart. He remained with the royal camp for about three years, and derived satisfaction from the fact that the Emperor often listened to his sermons patiently and without raising any objection. He wrote to his sons, Khwaja Muhammad Masum and Muhammad Said, "The Almighty should be thanked for the affairs and conditions of this place. Conversations of a rare and unique type are held. By the grace of God not a hair-breadth of indifference and negligence towards Islamic principles and the affairs of faith takes place. The conversations in the imperial assemblies are also held in the same strain as they are held in the private and special assemblies of the mystics. If I were to write the account of only one assembly it would cover a volume; in particular on this night of 17th Ramazan conversations were held on the mission of the prophets, the lack of absolute authority in reason ; faith in the Day of Judgment and the reward and punishment therein ; the proof of the vision of the Almighty, the doctrine that Prophet Muhammad is the seal of the Prophets, *Mujaddids* of each century, obedience to the first four Caliphs; the doctrine that *Tarawih* is *Sunnat*; the absurdity of metempsychosis, accounts of *jinns*, and their rewards and punishments, etc. The Emperor patiently listened to this conversation during which an account of the *Aqtab*, *Abdal* and *Autad* was also given. God be praised that the Emperor appeared to be satisfied and no dissatisfaction was noticed. He might have concealed secrets and mysteries in all these events."[2]

Mujaddid's remarks regarding the strict observance of Islamic practices during his presence there, recounted in the above letter, are as far from objectivity as the remarks which he made in his earlier letters regarding the miserable condition of Islam. It seems that he was easily swayed by his emotions. He, like the Jesuits, was moved by stray incidents and superficial observations. During the nights of Ramazan, *Tarawih* and *Tazkir* (religious sermons) are very common among the

1. Twenty or more genuflexions which the Muslims are wont to make after the last prayer of Ramazan.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 43.

Muslims. Assemblies of discourses after *Tarawih* were held in the imperial camp too and the Emperor seems to have attended some meetings on account of his interest in religious discussions. He was himself opposed to the doctrine of metempsychosis,[1] as is evident from the preface to *Tuzuk*. Any discussion refuting and discarding the doctrine of metempsychosis, must have highly appealed to the Emperor and the general effect of the discussion must have been exceedingly helpful from Mujaddid's point of view. Mujaddid however on the whole found life in imperial camp distasteful and felt he was a misfit there, though later on his sons and other friends joined him. He wrote to Khwaja Husam ud-Din who was previously used to this kind of life, "The Almighty must be thanked for the affairs and conditions of the *Faqirs* of this place. There is welfare in the calamity and composure in each distress. The great body of dependents and friends who are with me are passing their life peacefully. Their (spiritual) affairs are progressing and the royal camp is like a *khanqah* to them. They are fortunate to obtain firmness amongst the diversified state of the people of the royal camp. Out of the various entanglements which are associated with these places, they confine themselves to only one purpose. No one has to do anything with them, nor do they concern themselves with anyone. They are devoid of any authority and are rather in a way imprisoned ; but this imprisonment is of such a great value that liberation is not to be exchanged with even a trifling for it. Your coming to the royal camp and staying here are subject to your own sweet will for you are fully familiar with the manners of the people of the imperial camp and the camp life and are thoroughly

1. Jahangir says : "One day I observed to the *Pandits*, that is, the wise men of the Hindus, 'If the doctrines of your religion are based on the incarnation of the Holy Persons of God Almighty in ten different-forms by the process of metempsychosis, they are virtually rejected by the intelligent. This pernicious idea requires that the Sublime cause who is void of all limitations should be possessed of length, breadth and thickness. If the purpose is the manifestation of the Light of God in those bodies that of itself is existent equally in all created things, and is not peculiar to these ten forms. If the idea is to establish someone of God's attributes, even then there is no right notion, for in every faith and code beyond the other men of their age, for wisdom and eloquence....After much argument and endless controversy, they acknowledged a God of gods, devoid of a body or accidents, and said, 'as our imagination fails to conceive a formless personality (*Zat i-Mujarrad*) we do not find any way to know Him without the aid of a form. We have, therefore, made these ten forms the means of conceiving of and knowing Him.' Then said I, 'How can these forms be a means of your approaching the deity ?'" (*Tuzuk*, R & B, Vol. I, pp. 32-33).

conversant with the advantages and disadvantages accruing from a stay in this place. You had written to come to this place provided that there was no trouble. God be praised that our companions have not suffered any distraction despite their constantly mixing with the people who are engrossed in (God) in distraction and have not deviated from their mission."[1]

The absence of restrictions on the movements of Mujaddid and his followers in the imperial camp provided them the fullest opportunity to preach amongst the people of the town and villages where the camp halted.[2] From the point of view of Mujaddid's mission his presence in the imperial camp for a pretty long time created some healthy effect upon the minds of soldiers and common people. His teachings lacked emotional appeal but, as an Ālim and preacher of eminence, he must have been able to command considerable reverence of the people of the camp. Jahangir also seems to have attended some of his sermons but he nowhere referred to the company of Mujaddid. On the other hand he has mentioned the visit of Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi[3] and Miyan Mir[4] and the benefits which he obtained from their company. The tribute which he has paid to Gosain Jadrup is a rare piece of devotional literature.

Mujaddid's association with the nobles of Jahangir and with the Emperor himself was fairly long; still he failed to earn such approbation from the Emperor as was the lot of Miyan Mir or Gosain Jadrup. In the account of the 18th regnal year, the Emperor writes, "On the 22nd of the month the feast of my solar weighment took place, and the 45th year of the age of this suppliant began auspiciously and happily. According to the annual custom, I had myself weighed against gold and other valuables, and gave them to deserving people. Among these I gave Rs. 2,000 to Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind."[5] Thus even up till one

1. *Maktub i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 72.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 159.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (R & B), Vol. II, p. 111, *Supra*, p. 173.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
5. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 370, R & B, pp. 276.

بست‌ودوم ماه مزکور جشن وزن شمسي آراستگی یافت ـ سال‌پنجاه وپنجم از عمراین نیازمند به مبارکی
وفرخندگي آغازشد بدستور هرسال خود رابه طلا و اجناس وزن فرموده در وجه مستحقان مقرر فرمودم
آزان جمله بشیخ احمد سهرندي دوهزار روپیه عنایت شد

Previously Mujaddid had received a *Khilat* and one thousand rupees for expenses and at this occasion he got two thousand rupees only. The remarks of certain modern historians : "In his autobiography he twice refers to having made large

year before his death, Mujaddid was included amongst the needy by the Emperor and a gift out of the proceeds of an un-Islamic practice like that of the weighing ceremony fell to his lot. This also brings out a marked contrast between Mujaddid and Miyan Mir to whom Jahangir did not dare offer any gift.

Mujaddid wrote only one letter to Jahangir, playing his old tune *viz.* that the propagation of the *Shara* depended upon wielding the sword. The letter begins with a complimentary tone when the writer mentions, with a sense of satisfaction and gratitude, the peace and prosperity enjoyed during Jahangir's reign. He then makes an exposition of the real purport of writing the letter, namely to emphasise the importance of invoking God's blessings for victory in *Jihad*. It indirectly suggested to the Emperor the genuine need of extending patronage to the saints and Alims, preferring, of course, the latter over the former. The subjective element is dominant in this letter because he does not miss the opportunity to impress upon the Emperor that he regarded himself as one of the well-wishers of his Empire and that he prayed for the Emperor's prosperity.[1]

This letter was not written in response to any of the Emperor's letters but is just in the form of a congratulatory petition and seems to have been written after the conquest of Kangra—an occasion when every one could freely show his loyalty and devotion to the Emperor. It cannot be construed to mean that the Emperor solicited some advice from Mujaddid[2], for Jahangir is not known to have written letters to Mujaddid. It was only Mujaddid who sent the petition.

Kangra Episode

Cow-sacrifice by Jahangir himself after his arrival in Kangra is claimed by *Mujaddidis* to be a direct result of the influence of Mujaddid on the Emperor.[3] Kangra was a great eye sore to Mujaddid long before he came in contact with Jahangir.[4] He was annoyed at the sight of the

offerings to the saint," only tend to mislead an uncritical reader. [S. M. Ikram and S. A. Rashid : *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, p. 269.]

Three thousand rupees in all and a *Khilat* are not large offerings, either from the medieval or from that of modern standard.

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 47.
2. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram : *Rud i-Kausar* (Ist edition), pp. 139-141.
3. *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 269.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 269 to Murtaza Khan.

"stream of pilgrims" wending their way towards the holy shrine Jahangir says, "Setting aside the infidels whose custom is the worship of idols, crowds on crowds of the people of Islam, traversing long distance, bring their offerings and pray to the black stone (image)."[1] This little Hindu kingdom, situated in Himaliyan glens as it was, remained undisturbed after its sack by Mahmud of Ghazna in 1009 for more than three centuries. Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq and Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Nagarkot but they could not obtain a firm hold over the region. Akbar despatched a number of expeditions against Kangra which ultimately reduced the hill country but the fort itself could not be taken. In March 1615, Murtaza Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was commissioned by Jahangir to reduce Kangra. Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu, was also associated with him as second in-command.[2]

Mujaddid heard the news with great jubilation and wrote to Murtaza Khan : "Everyone has some desire in his heart. The desire of this *Faqir* is that the enemies of God and Prophet Muhammad should be dealt with severely and these wretches and their false gods should be insulted. You should rest assured that no other action is more laudable before God than this one. It is on account of this that I repeatedly urge you to do this act and consider the performance of this duty as one of the most important achievements of a Muslim. Since you have personally gone there and have been deputed to condemn and insult that dirty place and its inhabitants, God Almighty must be thanked for it as a large crowd goes there for pilgrimage and to pay homage to that place as well as to the inhabitants of that place. We must thank the Almighty that He did not assign us to this calamitous fate (*i.e.* of being idolaters). After offering thanks for this great boon, we should strive hard to insult and condemn these wretches and their false gods. Whatever may be possible, whether openly or secretly, should be attempted for the destruction of these people. Their chiselled or unchiselled idols should be insulted in all manners and in all ways. It is expected that some of your lapses shall be compensated for by this achievement and shall be a cause of the atonement of them. It is on account of my physical weakness and excessive cold that I cannot reach that place otherwise I would have come to you and persuaded you personally to do this act and might have utilized the

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. II, p. 224.
2. *Ibid.*, (R & B), Vol. I, pp. 283-284.

opportunity by spitting on that idol and might have regarded it as my good fortune."[1]

But the expedition on this occasion met with no success. Raja Suraj Singh, son of Raja Basu, and Murtaza Khan could not pull on together and the latter died in 1616. Mujaddid's keen desire for the conquest of Kangra is evident from his letter quoted above but the author of *Hazrat ul-Quds* has asserted in connection with the miracles of Mujaddid that when Murtaza Khan was deputed to conquer the fort he sent a petition to Mujaddid to pray for his success. Next day Mujaddid told his disciples that he had meditated on the matter and had received a divine message that the fort could not be conquered by Murtaza Khan. The same reply was despatched to Murtaza Khan and shortly afterwards he died and the fort remained unconquered.[2]

After the death of Murtaza Khan, Suraj Mal, the son of Raja Basu, who had been recalled from the Kangra expedition, was deputed to lead it. He had promised that he would reduce the fort within one year[3] but he subsequently rebelled. In 1618-19 Prince Khurram took upon himself the responsibility of conquering the fort of Kangra and the supreme command was assigned to Sundar Das, entitled Raja Bikramajit, who was one of his principal officers and a force of Jahangiri nobles such as Shahbaz Khan Lodi, Hirdai Narain Hada, Raja Prithi Chand and the sons of Ram Chand, was also sent with him. The army previously appointed for the expedition was placed under him.[4] Suraj Mal, after a short encounter, took to flight.[5]

Kangra Fort was conquered after a siege of fourteen months, to the great delight of the Emperor, on 26 November, 1620.[6] The *Mujaddidis* however did not relish the idea of the credit going to a Rajput general and so ascribed the conquest to the blessings of Mujaddid. Badr ud-Din says, "When Raja Bikramajit was ordered to lead the expedition against Kangra Fort he approached Mujaddid and most humbly submitted that he was a Muslim in his heart. Mujaddid said, 'If there is someone who is a Muslim in his heart but outwardly a *kafir* and an unbeliever, he is a *kafir*.' The Raja said, 'The Emperor

1. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 269.
2. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 64a.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B.), Vol. I, p. 388 ; Vol. II, pp. 55-56.
4. *Ibid.*, (R & B), Vol. II, p. 25.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 56-57.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 185-186.

has ordered me to lead an expedition against Kangra which is an extremely difficult task. Even Nawwab Murtaza Khan could not succeed in his efforts. I am worried as to how I should invade the *Dar ul-Harb* of the wretched *kafirs*. It is not possible unless your holiness helps me and gives the joyful tidings of the conquest of the fort.' Mujaddid replied, 'The war against the *kafirs* of *Dar ul-Harb* is obligatory for every Muslim. You have been doing that obligatory duty and relieving others from it. How then would I not pray for you?' When he found Mujaddid so considerate he began to entreat still more persistently and submitted, 'Unless your holiness gives the good tidings of victory, I shall not move from this place.' Mujaddid repeated the words he had uttered earlier. He again begged with all humility for being given the good tidings of victory. When Mujaddid found him reluctant to depart without being granted his request, he meditated for a while and said, 'Victory will certainly be yours and you needn't worry, you will conquer the fort within a short period.'[1]"

The above anecdote is available in the original draft of *Majma ul-Auliya* too but it was later deleted by the author and is not available in the subsequent copies of the manuscript. This deleted anecdote adds, "Emperor Jahangir, after the conquest of the Fort informed Mujaddid, 'If your holiness accompanies me, I would slaughter a cow, demolish the idols, construct a mosque and propagate Islam.' Mujaddid accompanied the Emperor to that fort and the latter acted according to the wishes of the former."[2]

According to his own version the Emperor reached Kangra the next year and took the *Qazi*, *Mir Adl*, and other learned men of Islam into the Fort and ordered whatever was customary according to the religion of Muhammad to be carried out there. He says, "Briefly, having traversed about one *kuroh* I went up to the top of the fort, and by the grace of God, the call to prayer, and the reading of the *Khutba* and the slaughter of cow etc. which had not taken place from the commencement of the building of the fort till now, were carried out in my presence. I prostrated myself in thanksgiving for this great gift, which no king had hoped to receive, and ordered a lofty mosque to be built inside the fort."[3]

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, ff. 64b-65a.
2. *Majma ul-Auliya* (Ethe' 645), ff. 443a.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. II, p. 223, (Sir Saiyid's edition), p. 340.

Jahangir derived the impulsive force for this action from a passion to show off his power and superiority as he had conquered the fort which had foiled the attempts of all the Muslim sovereigns in the past. Jubilant at and intoxicated by, the spectacular success he achieved by conquering the fort, he indeed lost his mental and emotional equilibrium, but it can hardly be attributed to the influence of Mujaddid. Some Ulama accompanied the Emperor but Mujaddid was not amongst them. The author of *Majma ul-Auliya* had deleted his name as also the popular anecdote after recording it. No other contemporary work ascribes the credit for it to Mujaddid.

On a previous occasion, when Jahangir reached Ajmer in 1613, ostensibly to make a pilgrimage to Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti's tomb but actually to supervise the operations against Rana Amar Singh, son of Maharana Pratap, who had been successfully defying Mughul supremacy, he visited the temples in the vicinity of that city. He also visited the temple of Rana Shankar, the uncle of Rana Amar Singh. There he found an image cut out of black stone the head of which bore resemblance to a pig's head while the rest of the body was akin to that of a man. Jahangir, criticising the religious beliefs of the Hindus, says that he had the image broken and thrown into a tank. Another idol too which was installed in a dome was destroyed at his behest.[1] These steps were presumably taken to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the inhabitants of that locality so that they might deter the people from affording any asylum to the Rana, whose discomfiture, like the reduction of the fort of Kangra, he considered as one of his greatest achievements. However, during his stay at Kangra Jahangir did not fail to record admiration for a *Sanyasi*, Moti by name, and the order to which he belonged.[2]

Mujaddid and Prince Khurram

Mujaddidi sources have presented an exaggerated account of Prince Khurram's intimacy with Mujaddid. They depict the prince as the loyal disciple of Mujaddid and describe Khurram as having made serious efforts to protect Mujaddid from his enemies[3] before his impri-

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 254.
2. *Ibid.*, (R & B), Vol. II, p. 227.
3. *Supra*, p. 291.

sonment. The following anecdote is found in *Mujaddidi* sources : "Shah Jahan, during the days of his rebellion against his father, enquired from an eminent saint, 'Why am I not being crowned with victory despite a huge army I possess ?' The saint after meditating on the matter said, 'There are four such saints on whom this work depends. Three of them wish you to come out victorious but the fourth and the biggest of all does not agree with them.' On the request of Shah Jahan this saint mentioned the name of Hazrat Miyan Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi as one who wished him no victory."[1]

Another anecdote says, "An eminent saint of India wrote to Mujaddid, 'All the great saints have prophesied the victory of the prince. What do you think about that?' Mujaddid sent a reply, 'To me it does not appear that the prince will be able to gain victory in these wars, but this much I can predict that in the long run the prince will certainly emerge as very great.' The prophecy did come true as Shah Jahan was unable to succeed in the rebellion against his father. However, he ascended the throne after Jahangir's death, gave a fresh strength and lustre to Islam and revived the *Shariat*."

The story is not tenable and appears to have been fabricated during Shah Jahan's reign to enlist his sympathies on the side of Mujaddid and his followers. Mujaddid has given no such hint of the matter in his letters though during Shah Jahan's rebellion he was for some time present in the royal camp.[2]

Moral Consequences of Mujaddid's Teachings

Mujaddid was, however, not destined to see the reign of Shah Jahan. He died on 28 Safar, 1034/10 December, 1624. Throughout his life he fervently tried to preach the *Shariat* from the orthodox Sunni point of view. He had more of the narrow-mindedness of a Mulla in him than the catholicity and liberalism of a Sufi. His teachings had practically no popular appeal worth mentioning and his attempts to reform the society through nobles and kings bore hardly any fruit. He imitated Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, the great Naqshbandi saint, who had gained immense influence on the rulers, princes and nobles of Transoxiana, but the conditions in India were different and the Indian Muslims a different set of people from their counterparts in

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 281.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 78.

Transoxiana. Barani in all his works had bitterly lamented the pitiable condition of Islam and so had Badauni. Mujaddid's tirades against pantheism, based generally on the teaching of Ibn i-Taimiya, Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Gesu Daraz as they were, failed to combat the pantheistic and monistic trends that permeated the contemporary Muslim society in India. In the social and cultural spheres Mujaddid had himself seen in his own life time how the sons of Baqi Billah, Mirza Husam ud-Din and his (Mujaddid's) own disciples had made innumerable compromises in his teachings and how he was compelled to seek the help of Khan i-Khanan.

Mujaddid's teachings, as put into practice by some of his followers, did not generate a sense of higher moral values[1] as the following anecdote will illustrate. A disciple of Mujaddid, who was a Saiyid, told Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, the author of *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*: "I was travelling in a wilderness in the Deccan with two or three *Darweshes*. There was a temple there which nobody looked after or protected. I had heard from Mujaddid that Muslims should insult idols as much as they can, for the act carries more reward than a *Ghazi* gets in fighting for the sake of God. Relying upon this teaching I told my companions that, as no guard of the temple was seen in the wilderness, we should destroy it. We destroyed the idol and were about to demolish some of the walls of the temple, when one of the Hindu peasants who had been watching the process of destruction communicated the event of the temple to the priests living in the village. Suddenly we saw a mob of a thousand villagers,

1. Dr. I. H. Qureshi says, "Philosophically this explanation (Mujaddid's), is more difficult to understand than the simple theory of monism ; even when conceded, this sub-servient existence was generally understood to be of the nature of an emanation of the real existence. As such it seemed hardly to affect the validity of monism. This is the reason why the Mujaddid's views on monism were not accepted by a large number of Sufis. Among others Shah Waliullah of Delhi held that the Mujaddid's dissent from monism was but a matter of semantics. This was not the view of Mujaddid who has devoted a good deal of space to the discussion of his points of difference with Ibn Arabi. Whatever might be said about the philosophic content of the Mujaddid's theory, its moral consequences cannot be ignored. Monism results in quietism ; the emphasis upon a separate existence leads to the opposite.... Monism tends to ignore the differences between religious philosophies and codes of behaviour; it is fatal for a community which believes in its uniqueness and must maintain its separate identity or perish." *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, p. 156.

with stones, some with sticks and some with other implements of war, marching towards us with frayed tempers. I and my companions were frightened and found it impossible to flee. We prepared ourselves to face death. Meanwhile I, directing my attention towards Mujaddid, said in my heart, 'I have done this act in accordance with your teachings. Liberate us from the hands of *kafirs* and sinners.' While I was bewailing my fate and praying, I heard a voice similar to that of Mujaddid which told me not to lose heart for he was sending a Muslim army to help us. The *kafirs* had come within bow-shot when about thirty or forty soldiers appeared from a height, coming post-haste towards them. The *kafirs* seeing them retired. The soldiers, reaching us, dispersed them with force and took us with them.

"It was later on discovered that those Muslim soldiers were staying in a village in the vicinity. When the *kafirs* marched to kill us, a Muslim who lived in the village of the *kafirs* informed the soldiers. They immediately came and liberated us."[1] The narrator, despite his knowledge of how the soldiers were informed of his distress sincerely believed that their release could not have been possible without the help of Mujaddid. The destruction of a place of worship in this manner cannot be justified by the canons of any religion or by any standards of morality and the attempt by the *Mujaddidis* to glorify and revel in such nefarious acts could only create an atmosphere of mutual hatred amongst various sections of the Muslims themselves, no less amongst Hindus and Muslims.

JAHANGIR AND SAINTS AND ALIMS

It has already been pointed out that Jahangir in the very first year of his accession banished Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari to Mecca[2] and subsequently inflicted the death penalty on Guru Arjun[3] Dev for their having blessed Khusrau; but this fact should not be lost sight of that their crimes appeared serious to the Emperor because each commanded a huge following. Similarly, Saiyid Ahmad Afghan was imprisoned in Gwalior Fort. Though the main charge against him

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 262-263.
2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 61.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 73.

was his refusal to perform *Sijda*,[1] it was the apprehension of his being a potent danger to the state that caused his imprisonment. On 26 Rabi I,1019/18 June, 1610 Qazi Saiyid Nurullah "Nuri" b. Saiyid Sharif b. Saiyid Nurullah Husaini Marashi Shustari was flogged to death. Shias consider him to be the third martyr in the cause of Shiism. In view of the halo of sanctity which posterity has woven round his death, and the recent attempts of a section of the Shias to ascribe his death to the influence of Mujaddid on Emperor Jahangir, it is essential that the event be examined at some length.

He was born at Shustar[2] probably in[3] 949/1542-43 . In his youth he went to Mashhad and subsequently reached India apparently in 992/1584 where he completed his work *Al-Jalaliyah.*[4] In Rajab 993/July 1585 he commenced his celebrated collection of the biographies of eminent Shias entitled *Majalis ul-Muminin*[5] and completed it on 23 Ziqad, 1010/15 May, 1602.[6] He was introduced to Akbar by Hakim Abul Fath Gilani,[7] probably after his arrival in Lahore on 27 May 1586,[8]

1. *Gulzar i-Abrar*, ff. 342b-346a, *Supra*, pp. 284-86.
2. Qazi Nurullah Shustari : *Majalis ul-Muminin* (Tihran, 1299/1881-82), p. 31.
3. Maulawi Mirza Muhammad Ali, in *Nujum us-Sama fi Tarajim ul-Ulama* (Lucknow, 1303/1886), p. 13, gives 956/1549 as the date of the birth of Qazi Nurullah Shustari. According to Ali Quli Khan 'Waleh' Daghastani he was sentenced to death when seventy years in age (Bankipur, VIII no. 693). *cf* Mirza Muhammad Hadi Aziz : *Shahid i-Salis* (Lucknow, 1925), p. 14.
4. Aijaz Husain : *Kashf ul-Hujub*, *Bib. Ind*, no. 774.
5. The work was written with a view to proving that the Shia faith was not a new doctrine, as asserted by its adversaries, but that it had produced eminent scholars and doctors in all periods of Islamic history. (*Majalis ul-Muminin*, pp. 4-5 ; 542-543). It comprises the biographies of eminent Shias (including those who according to the author passed as Sunnis though were really Shias practising *Taqiyah*) and is divided into a *Fatihah* (on the term *Shia*) and twelve *Majalis*: (1) places associated with Shias, (2) some Shia families, (3) Shia contemporaries of the Prophet, (4) Shias of the next generations (*Tabiun*), (5) Shia scholars of the succeeding generations, (6) Sufis, (7) Philosophers, (8) Shia kings and sixteen Shia dynasties, (9) Governors and generals etc, (10) *Wazirs* and calligraphists, (11) Arab poets, (12) Persian poets. (Storey : *Persian Literature A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Volume I, Part 2, p. 1129).
6. These dates are based on a marginal note of the British Museum manuscript (Add. 23, 541), apparently transcribed from the author's autograph. (Rieu I, 338a).
7. *cf. Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 167 ; Haig pp. 233-234.
8. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 494. Akbar remained there till 1589 A. D. (*Ibid.*, pp. 817-818).

and was appointed *Qazi* of Lahore in place of Shaikh Muin who had become old and infirm.[1] In 995/1587 he wrote and dedicated to Abdur Rahim Khan i-Khanan a work entitled *Al-Asharat ul-Kamilat al-Khan i-Khaniyah.*[2] In 1591 he was appointed, along with Qazi Ali, a commissioner to enquire into the mismanagement of the revenue affairs of Kashmir.[3] Nizam ud-Din Ahmad in his *Tabaqat i-Akbari* has mentioned him as occupying the post of *Qazi.*[4] It appears that till the completion of the third volume of *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, on 23 Jamada, II, 1004/22 February, 1596, he remained posted as *Qazi* of Lahore. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni says, "Although he is by religion a Shia he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are posessed by noblemen, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of under-standing, singleness of heart, clearness of perception, and acumen."[5] In 1596 he was deputed to make enquiries into the tenures (*Sayurghal*) of the province of

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 138. Qazi Muin died in 995/1587. According to the Shia legends, Akbar had agreed to Qazi Nurullah Shustari's condition that he would confine himself to no particular school of jurisprudence but would deliver judgments in accordance with any of the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. The Qazi used to decide the cases in accordance with the Shia Imamiya *Fiqh*, and if criticised, would quote his authority from one of the four schools of jurisprudence. In this way it is said that he secretly propagated Shia Imamiya principles. (*Nujum us-Sama*, pp. 14-15). This is regarded as one of the greatest contribution of Qazi Nurullah Shustari for the cause of Shiism but Akbar had already done away with the rigid policy of adhering to the legal decree of any particular school of jurisprudence. In 1575 he had obtained a *Fatwa* regarding the legality of *Muta* marriages by appointing Qazi Husain Arab Maliki in place of Hanafi Qazi Yaqub. This was done at the instance of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni who says, "Imam Malik and the Shias are unanimous in looking upon *Mutah* marriages as legal; Imam Shafii and the great Imam (Abu Hanifa) look upon *Mutah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a *Qazi* of Maliki sect decide that a *Mutah* is legal, it is legal according to common belief, even for Shafiis and Hanifis. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." (*Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 209; Lowe, pp. 212-213). In 1579 Akbar had himself through *Mahzar*, assumed the authority of selecting any one of the opinions of the four schools of jurisprudence for the good of his subjects. (*Tabaqat i-Akbari*, pp. 345-346).
2. *Kashf ul-Hujub*, no. 2116.
3. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 595, 617.
4. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad: *Tabaqat i-Akbari*, Vol. II (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 468. He has paid glowing tributes to the honesty and integrity of Qazi Nurullah Shustari.
5. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 137; Haig, pp. 193-194.

Agra.[1] His name is included in *Ain i-Akbari* in the list of scholars who had mastery over disciplines resting on *manqul.*[2] It is not known whether he was sent back to his substantive post of *Qazi* at Lahore. Since he completed his *Ihqaq ul-Haq* at Agra in Rabi I, 1014/July-August, 1605 in seven months, it appears that he had permanently shifted there at the end of Akbar's reign or in the beginning of the reign of Jahangir. No satisfactory evidence of his holding any post in Jahangir's reign is available. Surcharged as the atmosphere of Agra was with sectarian controversies, he devoted himself exclusively to the task of refuting the works and criticisms of the Sunnis against the Shias.

Ihqaq ul-Haq is itself a detailed refutation of *Ibtal Nahj ul-Batil* which was compiled by Fazlullah b. Ruzbihan[3], a Sunni scholar of Isfahan, in reply to *Nahj ul-Haq*, a work written in refutation of the theories and legal ideas of the Sunnis by Hilli[4] (*d.* 726/1326). Qazi Nurullah in this work has, first, quoted *verbatim* passages from Hilli's work introducing these with the words, "The author said : May God elevate his dignity," passages from Hilli being followed by *verbatim* quotations from Fazlullah b. Ruzbihan's work prefaced by the words, "The member of the *Nasibiyah* sect said, 'May God thrust him downwards." Fazlullah quoted extensively from Shia works to support his refutation of Shia doctrines, while Qazi Nurullah Shustari defended his refutation of Sunni doctrines by using quotations from their works.[5]

1. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 713.
2. *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. I, (Nawal Kishore), p. 167.
3. Fazlullah *b.* Ruzbihan al Shirazi (by birth) al-Isfahani (by residence), an uncompromising Sunni of Shafii school was apparently compelled by the victory of Shah Ismail to leave Isfahan for Kashan, and eventually, it seems he went to Transoxiana. He completed his anti-Shii polemical work *Ibtal Nahj ul-Batil wa Ihmal Kashf ul-Atil* at Kashan in 909/1503 in Arabic. [Storey : *Persian Literature* Section II Fasciculus (2), pp. 300-301].
4. Jamal ud-Din Hasan b. Yusuf bal Mutahir al-Hilli was a prominent Shia scholar, jurist and author of his age. Born in 648/1250-1251, he studied religious subjects under his father and some others, and the scientific branches under Abu Jafar Nasir ud-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Hasan al-Tusi (*d.* 672/1273). He surpassed his teacher in tradition and jurisprudence. He is particularly notorious among the Sunnis for his prejudice against them, and is credited for the inappropriate language which he had used against the Sunnis and the first three Caliphs. He died in 726/1326. (Bankipur, X, no. 594.)
5. Bankipur, Vol. X, no. 623; *cf.* the Persian translation of the same ; Bankipur, Vol. XIV, no. 1382.

He appears to have written the work in a vindictive mood and has used the most vituperative language for Fazlullah in the preface and conclusion. He has retaliated for the attacks of Fazlullah on Hilli calling the former as *Nasibi*, member of a sect which totally rejects Ali's *Khilafat*, throughout his work. In the conclusion Agra has been mentioned as an abode of abomination and of *kufr*. A feeling of frustration and helplessness characterises the conclusion of this work.[1] Of his other known works are *Masaib un-nawasib*,[2] *Hashiya 'ala Tafsir al-Baizawi*[3], annotations on the fifth *Maqsad* (*al-Imamah*) of al-Qushji's commentary (*al-Sharh al-Jadid*) and on Nasir ud-Din Tusi's *Tafrid ul-Aqaid.*[4]

His works seem to have evoked considerable opposition from the Sunnis and Qazi Nurullah seems to have been reported to Jahangir in unseemly terms. Taqi Auhadi, who commenced his biographical dictionary at Agra in 1022/1613, only three years after the execution of Qazi Nurullah Shustari, says, "He was executed in the early part of the reign of Jahangir,[5] the reason being that he was famous as a Shia. The Emperor was at peace with Sunnis and Shias both and kept each of these sects within proper limits.[6] He questioned Qazi Nurullah Shustari about his religion. He, observing *Taqiya*, said that he was a Shafii. The reply was distasteful to the Emperor and the latter, fretting with anger, said, 'Why did you not tell the truth to me?' He ordered that he be given five stripes of *Durra i-Khardar*[7]. He died during the course of flogging." Taqi Auhadi had also criticised him for writing a *Qasida* in refutation of the one written by Saiyid Hasan Ghaznawi and considered it to be in bad taste.[8] Shah Husain b. Malik Ghiyas ud-Din Mahmud corroborates Taqi Auhadi in *Khair ul-*

1. Conclusion of *Ihqaq ul-Haq* (Mss. in the library of late Saiyid Taqi Mujtahid of Lucknow).
2. India Office London, Arabic Manuscript Catalogue, VI, p. 2185. (Mss. in the library of late Saiyid Taqi Mujtahid); Persian translation by the Qazi's son Ala ul-Mulk under the patronage of Abul Muzaffar Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah (989-1020/1581-1611) in India Office Delhi Collection 267.
3. Asiatic Society Bengal Government Collections, 1903-7.
4. Brockelmann I, p. 509, India Office, Loth 471 XV.
5. 18 Jamda II, 1019/7 September, 1610 (Mirza Muhammad Hadi Aziz : *Shahid i-Salis*, pp. 24-25. Maulana Sibtul Hasan gives 26 Rab. I, 1019/18 June, 1610. [*Ash-Shahid* (Report from Oct. 1957 to March 1960), p. 7].
6. آں بادشاہ کہ باشیعہ وسنی ہردو صلح کردہ ہریک رابجای خود داشت
7. A particular kind of whip.
8. *Arafat ul-Arifin wa-Arasat ul-Ashiqin* (Bankipur, VII), no. 605, f. 776b.

Bayan (completed in 1019/1610, revised and enlarged in 1035/1625-26 and 1036/1626-27) dedicated to Shah Abbas Safawi.[1]

Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani (*b. ca* 10,00/1591-92), the author of *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani*, who completed his work in *ca* 1046/1636-37, has given a brief biographical notice on Qazi Nurullah Shustari but has made no mention of his death. His account is based on *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni.[2] According to Muhammad b. Hurr i-Amuli, the author of *al-Amal ul-Amil* written in Jamada II, 1097/April-May, 1686, Qazi Nurullah was sentenced to death on account of writting *Ihqaq ul-Haq.*[3]

Ali Quli Khan Waleh Daghastani, a Sunni who completed his *Riyaz ush-Shuara* in 1161/1748 says, "He achieved martyrdom at the age of seventy in the reign of Jahangir on account of writing *Majalis ul-Muminin*."[4] Siraj ud-Din Ali Khan 'Arzu' in his *Majma 'un-Nafais* completed in 1164/1750-51 says, "Since he was a fanatic Shia he used to revile the *Azizan.*[5] He was, on account of that crime, put to death in the reign of Jahangir. Sunnis dishonoured his body to their heartful. The reason of his execution lay in his frank avowal of being a Shafii. The Emperor did not differentiate between Sunnis and Shias nor did he try to touch off their religious susceptibilities. He enquired of the Qazi the religion he professed. The Qazi practising *Taqiya* said that he was a Shafii. It was a most unpleasant knowledge to the Emperor and so in a fit of rage he sentenced him to death." Arzu adds, "Praise be to God. Qazi Nurullah considered *Taqiya* to be a source of his life's safety but it became a cause of his death." He has also criticised him for his *Qasida* which he wrote in refutation to that of Hasan Ghaznawi. Khan Arzu has strengthened his statement by quoting Taqi Auhadi, a Shia.[6] Riza Quli Kan Hidayet b. Muhammad Hadi Tabaristani, another Shia and the author of *Riyaz*

1. پادشاه جمجاه ازامیر مذکور استفسار نمود که چه مذهب دارید اِخفای مذهب خودنمود وچون معتقد ومذهب برنزد همه کس ظاهر بود طبع پادشاه راازین معنی ناخوش آمده باں سبب خواری بسیار کشیده بجوار رحمت ایزدی پیوست

   Khair ul-Bayan, British Museum, Rieu Supp. 109, Or 4510.
2. *Tabaqat i-Shahjahani* (Habibganj, Aligarh University Manuscript), p. 346.
3. *Amal ul-Amil* (Nasiriya Library Lucknow), p. 355.
4. Ali Quli Khan Daghastani : *Riyaz ush-Shuara* (Rampur, Mss.), f. 588b.
5. Companions of Prophet Muhammad.
6. Siraj ud-Din Ali Khan Arzu: *Majma un-Nafais* (Bankipur, VIII, no. 695), f. 475a.

ul-Arifin completed in 1260/1844, says, "In the reign of Jahangir he was flogged to death at the age of seventy years on account of the Emperor's bigotry. He adhered to the Nur Bakhshiya school of thought."[1] Maulawi Mirza Muhammad Ali, the author of *Nujum us-Sama* commenced in 1286/1869-70, has given a legendary colour to the episode. He says, "When Jahangir succeeded Akbar, Qazi Nurullah continued to work on his old post. Ultimately some Ulama hostile to him but who were favourites of Jahangir were able to discover that the Qazi professed the Imamiya faith. They complained to the Emperor that he followed the Shia Imamiya faith, for he did not adhere to anyone of the four schools of jurisprudence and issued decrees only in accordance with that particular school of jurisprudence which suited Imamiya faith. The Emperor getting displeased at this conversation said, 'This is no proof of his Shiism for he had in the beginning laid down the condition that he would issue decrees in accordance with all the four schools of jurisprudence.' Consequently the Ulama, hostile to him, began to wait for an opportunity to prove him a Shia and then to obtain orders of his execution from the Emperor. In pursuance of their objective they devised a trap and sent to the Qazi one of their own men who posed to be a Shia and became the Qazi's disciple. He lived for a long time with the Qazi and became his favourite. He got scent of *Majalis ul-Muminin* and after great efforts and entreaties took the book to his own house, copied it out and secretly passed it on to the Ulama. Making that work as their instrument, they conclusively proved before the Emperor that the Qazi was a Shia and added that he deserved nothing short of death sentence for having written such and such objectionable things in it. The Emperor enquired as to what punishment be awarded to him. They advised him to award the Qazi a given number stripes of *Durra i-Khardar*. The Emperor allowed them to do as they pleased. They brooked no delay in inflicting the punishment of their desire on the Qazi. They got him whipped up with such cruelty and severity that he fell dead and attained to martyrdom."[2]

An analysis of the aforesaid different versions of the incident shows that the Shia scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries imputed Qazi Nurullah Shustari's execution to Jahangir's bigotry while

1. *Riyaz ul-Arifin* (Tihran), p. 406.
2. *Nujum us-Sama*, pp. 15-16.

according to the Sunni authors he suffered death for having reviled the companions of Prophet Muhammad. The contemporary Irani Shia scholar, Taqi Auhadi, who reached Agra in 1020/1611-12, one year after the execution of Qazi Nurullah Shustari, has presented the popular version of the Qazi's execution. He is corroborated by another contemporary Shia scholar who wrote in Iran. The Qazi's views were no secret. He was a known Shia and Badauni has clearly mentioned him as a Shia.[1] There were no restrictions on Shias either in the reign of Akbar or in that of Jahangir. Akbar saw no harm in appointing a Shia as a Qazi as long as his decrees conformed to the principles of any one of the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence.[2] Qazi Nurullah's learning, scholarship, honesty and integrity have been highly extolled by all the Sunni scholars, hence it was not difficult for Qazi Nurullah Shustari to discharge his duties satisfactorily. The liberty to follow any one of the four schools of jurisprudence in deciding the cases, in Akbar's reign, had given a very wide power indeed to the *Qazis* of his realm and where they utilised this power discreetly, it might have provided a type of justice broadly based on humanitarian and secular principles. Qazi Nurullah Shustari had been to a great extent successful in putting a stop to bribery and dishonesty. Badauni says, "In truth he has reduced the insolent *Muftis* and the crafty and subtle *Muhtasibs* of Lahor, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and he has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined."[3] The *Ulama*, who manned the class of *Muftis* etc, found Qazi Nurullah Shustari's tenure of office inimical to their interests ; naturally they were highly dissatisfied with him. The interests of other high officials and the holders of the *Sayurghal* lands, Sunnis and Shias both, seem to have been adversely affected due to the enquiries which were conducted by him at Agra into the revenue affairs. By the end of Akbar's reign almost all his chief patrons, Hakim Abul Fath, Faizi and Abul Fazl, had been embraced by death. Khan i-Khanan lived mainly in the Deccan. In a mood of despondency Qazi Nurullah Shustari concentrated more and more on polemical works. Mujaddid's *Radd i-Rawafiz*

1. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 137.
2. Even the Mahdawis were appointed *Qazis* in Sindh though they were considered worse than the Shias. *Supra*, p. 120.
3. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 137-138 ; Haig, p. 194.

had already been written. He did not maintain balance and proper restraint in his work *Ihqaq ul-Haq*. His *qasida* in refutation to that of Hasan Ghaznawi has been subjected to criticism by Taqi Auhadi too. These works appear to have been adversely reported to Jahangir by the Ulama, officials and holders of *Sayurghal* land who had grown hostile to the Qazi and they must have grasped every opportunity to depict him in most unbecoming terms. It is very likely that he was even represented as a potent danger to State. Jahangir, therefore, summoned him to discover the truth. He seems to have been shocked to see that, despite complete religious freedom granted by him, the Qazi did not fearlessly explain his religious views to him, which were known to every one. It would , therefore, be wrong to presume that he was sacrificed at the altar of bigotry, for, as Taqi Auhadi has pointed out, the Emperor was at peace with both Sunnis and Shias and kept each of the two sects in its proper place in his realm.

Kamal ud-Din Muhammad Ahsan has presented a fantastically inaccurate story of Qazi Nurullah Shustari's execution in *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya.* He has placed the incident in the eighteenth year of *Tajdid* (1030/16-1621). He says that when after the release of Mujaddid, Islam was perfectly restored and more than twenty thousand people began to assemble to listen to his sermons every morning and evening, the Iblis like *Wazir* (Asaf Khan) called Nurullah Shustari, the leader of the Shia Ulama, from Iran by paying huge sums of money to him. The Emperor on the request of Asaf Khan went to receive him with his entire retinue and extended the highest respect and courtesies to him ; but the Qazi would not attend the meetings where Mujaddid used to be present with the Emperor. The Emperor on the persuasions of the *Wazir* became highly devoted to the Qazi and lent a credulous heart to his utterances in regard to religion. The *Wazir* having seen Qazi's influence over the Emperor made a plan to obtain an order from him for gettng Shiism recognised as an official religion of the State. A disciple of Mujaddid was present on that occasion. He posted the latter with the plan of the *Wazir*. Mujaddid asked one of his disciples who supervised the Emperor's wardrobe, that he should convey the message on his behalf to the Emperor that the latter should not go to the hall of audience without meeting him. It is said that it was almost customary with the Emperor that he in pleasanter moods would don white garments but if he was off the mood or was to award severe

41

punishments to the people he would dress himself in red garments.[1] On that particular day the Emperor was in a cheerful mood, so he asked for white garments. The disciple at this order heaved a sigh of grief which immediately caught the attention of the Emperor. He enquired why he was out of sorts on a day of rejoicing. The disciple replied, "There cannot be a greater occasion of grief than the present one ; for our Emperor is going to renounce the true faith and embrace the false one. Your Majesty has decided to give up the faith of Sahib Qiran Amir Timur and to accept the faith of Shah Abbas." The Emperor couldn't make head or tail of this statement, so he asked him to explain himself. He divulged to the Emperor the plot set afoot by the *Wazir* with the connivance of Qazi Nurullah Shustari and conveyed the message of Mujaddid. The Emperor at once summoned Mujaddid and enquired the reason of his seeking a private interview. Mujaddid told him, "The *Wazir* has intentionally invited Nurullah from Iran with a view to leading you astray from the true faith and making you embrace his false faith." The disclosure threw the Emperor into a violent rage, and, immediately donning the red garment he sat in the public hall of audience. Nurullah Shustari was summoned and trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Those who had accompanied Nurullah from Iran were also beheaded. The *Wazir* was greatly mortified at this incident and for revenge, he summoned Christian priests to humiliate the Muslims.[2]

This version of Qazi Nurullah Shustari's execution illustrates how historical facts were twisted by the Mujaddidis to make them fit in with their sectarian ideologies, and as such they hardly deserve any attention of the sober students of history. Similarly, the unhistorical literature produced by the Shias of the twentieth century in Urdu in the wake of an attempt to idolise Qazi Nurullah Shustari deserves

1. *cf.* Khwandamir: *Qanun i-Humayuni* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 73-77 ; *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140. Humayun was dressed in red robes on the day when he meted out severe punishments to the soldiers who in, their madness, had left the imperial camp during the Gujarat campaign for the Deccan conquest. (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. I pp. 139-140); Rizvi : *Mughul Kalin Bharat—Humayun*, Part I, pp. 32-34, pp. 409-411).

2. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, (*Rukn* I, ff. 81a-b).

to be rejected outright.[1]

While drawing a contrast between Jahangir's harsh attitude towards Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari, Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, Guru Arjun Dev, Qazi Nurullah Shustari, Mujaddid, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis, Shaikh Nurul Haq and Shaikh Husam ud-Din, and the one which he adopted towards the descendants of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din, Miyan Mir and Gosain Jadrup, it becomes strikingly evident that all saints and Alims, irrespective of their religious leanings, were equally respectable to Jahangir provided they confined themselves strictly to religious activity. But if he found any of them transgressing those limits, indulging in political activities portending danger to the State and trying to cut at the very root of his policy of peace with all, he came upon him with a heavy hand and felt no hesitation in awarding him the severest possible punishment.

In the twelfth year of his reign he visited the *khanqah* of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din Gujarati and liberally awarded gifts to his successors. He writes, "On Wednesday the 27th, I went to the *khanqah* of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din, which was near the palace, and *Fatiha* was recited at the head of the shrine, which is in the court of the *khanqah*. Sadiq Khan, who was one of the chief *Amirs* of my father, built this *khanqah*. The Shaikh was a *Khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, but a *Khalifa* whom the preceptor himself was proud of. Wajih ud-Din's devotion to him is a clear proof of the greatness of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.

1. Mirza Muhammad Hadi Aziz : *Shahid i-Salis*.
Agha Mahdi: *Tarikh i-Shia Ke Khunchakan Waraq*. The author says : "When Jahangir began to sign the *Mahzar* regarding Qazi Nurullah Shustari's execution, Nur Jahan caught hold of Jahangir's hands. Jahangir placed the burning charcoal on her hand and the Empress fainted. When she recovered after treatment a white scar was left on her wrist. Jahangir summoned the gold-smiths and asked them to prepare an ornament for her wrists to prevent the visibility of the scar. *Jahangiri* ornament was accordingly invented." (pp. 25-26). Jahangir married Nur Jahan in the sixth regnal year towards the close of May 1611. (Mutamad Khan: *Iqbal Nama i-Jahangiri*, Vol.III, pp. 54-56; Beni Prasad: *History of Jahangir*, p. 152). Qazi Nurullah Shustari was sentenced to death in 1610 A. D. The present keeper of Qazi Nurullah Shustari's tomb has collected stray excerpts from the *Rud i-Kausar* of Shaikh Muhammad Ikram to prove that the execution of Qazi Nurullah Shustari was the outcome of the influence which Mujaddid and his followers had come to exercise on Jahangir. (Saiyid Sibtul Hasan : *Ash Shahid*, pp. 5-7).

Shaikh Wajih ud-Din was adorned with visible excellencies and spiritual perfection. He died thirty years ago in this city (Ahmadabad), and after him Shaikh Abdullah according to his father's will took his place. He was a very ascetic *Darwesh.* When he died his son Shaikh Asadullah sat in his place and also quickly went to the eternal world. After him his brother Shaikh Haidar succeeded to his *Sajjada* (prayer carpet), and is now alive, and is employed at the graves of his father and grand-father in the service of *Darweshes* and in looking after their welfare. The traces of piety are evident on the forehead of his life. As it was the anniversary festival *(urs)* of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din, 1,500 rupees were given to Shaikh Haidar for the expenses of the anniversary, and I bestowed 1,500 rupees more on the band of *Faqirs* who were present in the *khanqah,* with my own hand in charity, and made a present of 500 rupees to the brother of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din. In the same way I gave something for expenses, and land to each of his relatives and adherents according to his merits. I ordered Shaikh Haidar to bring before me the body of *Darweshes* and deserving people whom he knew, in order that they might ask for money for expenses and for land."[1]

Mir Muhammad, popularly known as Miyan Mir or Miyan Jeo, traced his descent back to Caliph Umar ; his ancestors belonged to Siwistan near Thatta where he was born in 957/1550. When twenty-five years of age he shifted to Lahore. There he studied under Maulana Sadullah Tilla, an eminent Alim of Akbar's reign, but he spent most of his time in gardens and in the wilderness engaged in prayer and meditation and hard ascetic exercises. He did not mix with people and mostly kept night vigils. Great mastery over the control of his breath as he had, he would not draw in more than one breath throughout the night. After some time he shifted to Sirhind where he fell ill, so he returned to Lahore after a year where he permanently settled in Muhalla Baghbanan, apparently the quarters of the gardeners, afterwards known as Khafipur. Normally he would not enroll disciples ; indeed, he disapproved of the practice of the contemporary saints who hankered, in his view, after power and issuing the *Fatwas.* He regarded the quest for God an extremely difficult task.[2]

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri,* (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 211; (R & B), Vol. I, pp. 426-427.
2. Dara Shukoh: *Sakinat ul-Auliya* (Rampur Mss.), ff. 111b-124b. Abdul Hamid Lahori: *Badshah Nama,* Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 329-330; Muhammad b. Amin Qazwini: *Badshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 853-854 ; *Amal i-Salih,* p. 364.

Jahangir came to know of him in January 1620 while he had left Sirhind on his way to Kashmir. He writes, "As it was reported to me that in Lahore one Miyan Shaikh Muhammad Mir by name, who was a *Darwesh*, a Sindhi by origin, exceedingly virtuous, having self control, a lord of ecstasy, had seated himself in the corner of reliance upon God and retirement, and was rich in his poverty and independent of the world, my truth seeking mind was not at rest without meeting him, and my desire to see him increased. As it was impossible to go to Lahore, I wrote a note to him and explained to him the desire of my heart, and that saint notwithstanding his great age and weakness, took the trouble to come. I sat with him for a long time alone, and enjoyed a thorough interview with him. Truly he is a noble personage, and in this age he is a great boon and existence of such people is exceedingly rare. This suppliant for Grace was taken out of himself by companionship with him, and heard from him sublime words of *Haqaiq* and *Maarif*. Although I desired to make him some gift,[1] I found that his spirit was too high for this and so did not express my wish.[2] I left him the skin of a white antelope to pray upon, and he immediately bade me farewell and went back to Lahore.[3]" How great an impression Miyan Mir made on Jahangir is borne out by the conversation that followed between them. The Emperor remarked, "Whatever of kingdom, magnificence, wealth and jewels I possess, appear to me like stones and straw. If you pay attention towards me, I may abandon all the worldly bondages." Miyan Mir said, "The perfect *Sufi* is one who does not make any distinction between the value of a jewel and a stone. Since you say that stone and jewel are at par in value to you, you are also a *Sufi*." The Emperor said, "With these arguments do you wish me to give up my decision?" Miyan Mir said, "Your existence is a paramount necessity for the protection of the people. Due to the blessings of your justice *Faqirs* also peacefully remain occupied in their business." The Emperor earnestly requested him to pray for him. Miyan Mir said, "I can agree to take you with me to practise asceticism

1. *Niyaz.*
2. Dara Shukoh has recorded an interesting conversation in this connection. He says, "Emperor Jahangir requested him to ask something from him. Miyan Mir said, 'Would you be prepared to give me whatever I ask forfrom you?' The Emperor said, 'Certainly, You may take it for granted.' I then ask you to allow me to depart,' replied Miyan Mir.'"
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), pp. 286-287; (R & B), Vol. II, p. 119.

on condition that you place a substitute on the throne to look after the well-being of the subjects."

This was a winning card for the Mir as it silenced the Emperor.[1] He left an indelible impression on him. It was in 1622, that Shah Abbas Safawi besieged Qandahar,[2] and Jahangir in this predicament wrote to Miyan Mir, addressing him as *Hazrat Pir Dastgir*,[3] "Kindly do me the favour of remembering me off and on at the time of your prayers. Also please pray for the liberation of the servants of the Almighty from the hands of the cruel *Rafzis*. May he who broke his promise first be punished with divine wrath."[4]

The letter bears testimony to Jahangir's immense devotion to Miyan Mir. But does it not sound strange that Jahangir should prefer Miyan Mir, a saint of strong pantheistic tendencies, for the latter's blessings over Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the inveterate enemy of the Shias—who as is claimed by the disciples of Mujaddid had become the chief adviser of the Emperor after his release?[5] Despite Jahangir's devotion to Miyan Mir and the latter's regard for the Emperor, Miyan Mir did not hesitate to welcome Shaikh Abdul Haq when he was summoned by him from Delhi to Kashmir.[6]

Similarly, Jahangir's admiration and devotion to Gosain Jadrup knew no bounds. He was sixty years old when Jahangir met him, second time, in Ujjain in 1618-19 A.D. He had forsaken the world when he was

1. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, (Rampur Mss.), f. 136a.
2. Beni Prasad: *History of Jahangir*, p. 296.
3. Preceptor and protector.
4. بعرض حضرت پیردستگیر شیخ میر ازیں نیازمند درگاہ الٰہی جہانگیر ـ بعد ازعرض دعاارالتماس آنکه مراگاه گاهی دروقت دعا یاد می فرموده باشند ـ ایں بندهاء خدارا ازدست ظالم رافضی خلاص نمایند وهرکس که اول بدقولی کندامید که بغضب ایزدی گرفتارگردد ـ آمین ـ واین رقعه را در وقتی نوشته بودند که والی ایران برسر قندهار آمده بود
   Sakinat ul-Auliya (Rampur Mss.) f. 136b.
5. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* (*Rukn* I), ff. 77a-80b; Faruqi, B.A.: *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid*, p. 27; Yasin: *A Social History of Islamic India*, p. 157; S. M. Ikram and S. A. Rashid: *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan*, p. 269.
6. *Supra*, p. 174.

twenty-two years old. He wore nothing and resided in a hole dug out of the side of a hill in Ujjain which was so small that only a thin person could enter it, and that too with great difficulty. Jahangir says, "In this narrow and dark hole he passes his time in solitude. In the cold days of winter, though he is quite naked, with the exception of a piece of rag that he has in front and behind, he never lights a fire. Mulla of Rum has depicted it in the words of a *Darwesh.*[1]

'By day our clothes are the sun,

By night our mattress and blanket the moon's rays.'

He bathes twice a day, in a piece of water near his abode, and once a day goes into the town of Ujjain, and nowhere but to the house of three Brahmins whom he has selected out of seven, who have wives and children and whom he believes to have religious feelings and contentment. He takes by way of alms five mouthful of food out of what they have prepared for their own eating, which he swallows without chewing, in order that he may not enjoy their flavour."[2]

Emperor Akbar had also visited Gosain Jadrup in Ujjain, where he resided, on his return journey to Agra after the conquest of Asir in 1601 and would recall him with admiration.[3] Jahangir was so anxious to have his company that he even listed to call him to his presence but desisted from implementing his desire in view of the trouble the saint might have been put to due to the long journey.[4] Jahangir visited him for the first time in Ujjain in 1616-17 and a discourse lasting for six *gharis* highly impressed the Emperor,[5] so much so that on a second occasion during his visit to Ujjain in 1618-19 he went twice to see the saint within the period of a week. He says, "On Saturday, for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. After performing the mid-day devotions[6], I embarked in a boat and hastened

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 175. ملای روم از زبان درویش به نظم درآورده

The translation in R & B of the above sentence is faulty.

2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 356; Vol. II, p. 52.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 357.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 355.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 356.
6. عبادت نیمروز

to meet him, and at the close of the day I ran to the place of his retirement and enjoyed his society. I heard many sublime words of Divine truth and *Maarif* from him."[1]

Gosain Jadrup later on shifted from Ujjain to Mathura and resided in a hut on the banks of the Yamuna. Jahangir again visited him there twice in 1619-20, the same year in which he imprisoned Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The following account of his second visit to the saint as given by the Emperor himself indicates the benefit that the latter derived in paying a visit to the saint. He says "On Monday, the 12th, my desire to see Gosain Jadrup again increased and hastening to his hut, without ceremony, I enjoyed his society. Sublime words were spoken to between us. God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an excellent nature, and sharp intellectual powers, with a God-given knowledge and a heart free from the attachments of the world, so that, putting behind his back the world and all that is in it, he sits content in the corner of solitude and without wants."[2]

A serious study of the above facts will reveal one important aspect of Jahangir's personality that he was not devoid of genuine feelings of love and respect for saints and *Darweshes*. In the context of his respectful devotion to and association with Gosain Jadrup and Miyan Mir, the sweeping remark of Dara Shukoh—that Jahangir had no faith in saints and *Darweshes* and usually treated them harshly,[3] holds no water. The facts are somewhat otherwise. He was of course harsh and unkind to those who transgressed their spiritual bounds and plunged into

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52; (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 252.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 105.
   Akbar and Jahangir's visits to Gosain Jadrup had become a favourite theme for the contemporary painters who loved to portray these with considerable enthusiasm. (Ananda K. Comarswamy: "Portrait of Gosain Jadrup, *JRAS*, 1919 pp. 389-391; Browne: *Indian Painting under the Mughuls* (London, 1924), pp. 126-127; E. Keehnel and Herman Goetz: *Indian Book of Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin* (London, 1926), p. 256, plate 38; Stchoukine, Ivan : *Miniatures Indienne du Musse du Louver* (Paris, 1919), pp. 26-27, Plate VII; K. B. Iyer: *Art and Thought*: "The Troubled Image" (London, 1947), pp.37-86, plate XVIII fig 8; Abdullah Chaghtai : "Emperor Jahangir's Interviews with Gosain Jadrup and His Portraits" (*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, 1962), pp. 119-128.
3. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, f. 135a.

politics, thereby posing a threat to the maintenance of that equilibrium which the Emperor desired to maintain in the religious domain. It would not be out of place to repeat here that Jahangir had pledged himself to following in the footsteps of his illustrious father in matters of religious policy. He did not wish to digress from it. 'Peace with all' was his cherished goal and he would not allow any interference in an individual's religious affairs. If some saints or Alims happened to suffer at his hands, it was not because the Emperor had any bias against them on account of his own religious leanings, but because they had assumed a political role in addition to their religious function.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PANTHEISM AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Muslim society of 16th and 17th century India had a varied pattern with many cross currents flowing through it. If on the one hand a small section of it responded to the efforts of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi and his predecessors who sought to revive the study of Islamic learning and theology as a necessary prelude to reverting back to orthodox religious life from the puritan Muslim point of view, by relegating scientific and philosophical enquiries to minor importance, and also extended a helping hand to the teachings of Mujaddid and his followers, the great bulk of Muslim population continued to explore fresh avenues for that process of peaceful co-existence which had made itself felt in more than one way. As a matter of fact the spirit of rapprochement between the various sections of the Indian population had been quite discernible ever since Islam stepped on the Indian soil and more particularly after the establishment of the Turkish rule in India. This process of rapprochement and mutual adjustment suffered temporary setbacks at times, indeed, due to conflicts between the forces supporting orthodoxy and liberalism, between bigotry and the spirit of tolerance. Within Muslim society itself there were small sections which clung fast to orthodoxy and shunned every gesture of reconciliation with other religious groups, while there were also quite a large number of them who condemned the attitude of the bigoted sections and stood for mutual good-will and tolerance.

These divergent trends—-one leaning towards revivalism, the other towards "peace with all"—had their own lists of supporters and opponents from amongst the Muslim community. While the different branches of the Indian Naqshbandis in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries differed sharply, the ideological cleavage between the disciples who mustered round Khwaja Khurd, the son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, and those who joined Khwaja Muhammad Masum, son of Mujaddid, was also very acute. The prominent Sufi order in the reign of Shah Jahan was that of the Qadiris. In none of his letters did Shaikh Muhibbullah of Allahabad refer to Mujaddid. The main opponents of Ibn Arabi

amongst the Sufis, according to him, were Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti claimed that the protection of the interests of the Indian rulers was the duty of the Chishti saints.[1] He publicised the aphorism of an earlier Naqshbandi, Khwaja Muhammad Parsa, who declared that the *Fusus* was the soul and the *Futuhat* was the heart.[2] According to him his contemporary Naqshbandis, who had no faith in Ibn Arabi, were ignorant of the beliefs of their own Pirs, which in the Sufic discipline amounted to a serious adverse comment. While no account of Mujaddid and his *Khalifas* is available in the chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign, Miyan Mir, his disciples and other eminent pantheists have been dealt with systematically in all the historical works of Shah Jahan's reign, though they usually led a retired life given to prayers, vigils and austerities. They were shy of publicity and least eager to bring the nobles or the rulers under their influence. They did not believe in swelling the ranks of their disciples, but only reluctantly admitted seekers to their fold. On the other hand nobles as well as a great bulk of Muslim population in India vied with one another in seeking their guidance for their spiritual satisfaction. They often showered blessings on the eager rulers, princes and nobles in the most guarded language but with no motive of extending their influence or obtaining their support for the success of their ideologies.

Sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah

Khwaja Abdullah, also known as Khwaja i-Kalan or the elder Khwaja, was born on 1 Rabi I, 1010/30 August, 1601. He was brought up and educated by Khwaja Husam ud-Din to whom he remained devoted throughout his life. Having imbibed the pantheistic tendencies, he rendered abortive the strenuous efforts of Mujaddid to convert him to his views and the latter considered Khwaja Husam ud-Din and Alahdad responsible for the views which Khwaja Kalan held.[3] He wrote several treatises, one on the life and the achievements of Khwaja Husam ud-Din. He compiled a versified biographical dictionary of the saints comprising one lakh verses.[4] None of the above works

1. *Mirat ul-Asrar*, ff. 148a, 438a, 507a-509b.
2. *Ibid.*, ff. 236a, 443a.
3. *Supra*, p. 195.
4. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Urdu Translation, Vol. I, pp. 260-261.

is, however, available but *Mubligh ur-Rijal,* still extant, is a work of considerable interest. Though it comprises the criticism of Shaikh Abul Fazl[1] and seeks to condemn the *Rafzis* and the *Malahida* (heretics), who according to him worked hand in glove in the destruction of the Sunni faith ,[2] it seeks throughout to defend the *Wujudi* ideologies. He has given a brief account of the teachings of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi but has refrained from making any comment on it.[3] He was highly impressed with Masud i-Bak and his teachings[4] and gave a brief account of the teachings of Ibn Arabi in an appreciative strain.[5] He has, however, condemned those who exploited the system for mundane purposes.[6]

Of the *Shubat i-Tariqa i-Naqshbandiya* (Naqshbandi branches), the branch of Khwaja Muhammad Baqi[7] was led , more effectively, by Khwaja Ubaidullah or Khwaja i-Khurd, the younger son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who was born on [8] 6 or 8 Rajab,[9] 1010/31 December, 1601 or 2 January, 1602. His father had prophesied that he would become like Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami. He too was brought up and educated by Khwaja Husam ud-Din. At the age of fourteen he reached Sirhind and remained there under the care of Mujaddid for quite some time and was initiated into the Naqshbandi order by him[10]. After his return from Sirhind he underwent Sufi training again, this time under Khwaja Husam ud-Din and Shaikh Alahdad.[11] It was this training which made an everlasting impression on his mind. Neither the training of Mujaddid nor his letters, which according to a certain modern scholar could "move mountains"[12], were able to wean him away from the path pointed out by Khwaja Husam ud-Din and Alahdad. The practice of *sama,* which Mujaddid vehemently reproached, in the name of Naqshbandi traditions, was the very basis of Khwaja Khurd's

1. *Mubligh ur-Rijal* (India Office Mss. Delhi, Persian, 1112), ff. 104a-108a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 93a.
3. *Ibid.*, ff. 71b-79b.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 79b.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 38a-78a.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 109a.
7. Shah Waliullah: *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 1.
8. *Bayan i-Ahwal wa Malfuzat i-Khwaja Khurd* (India Office Delhi Arabic, 1862b), f. 133b.
9. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Urdu Translation, Vol. I, pp. 260-261.
10. *Bayan i-Ahwal wa Malfuzat i-Khwaja Khurd*, f. 134a.
11. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 18.
12. *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 267.

Sufic discipline. "Although *sama* is not prevalent in our *Tariqa* and we are not known as those who indulge in *sama*," said he, "we have no repulsion towards it". The *sine qua non* of the life of a mystic according to him was the *Fana* and it could be acquired only through *sama*.[1] He strengthened his view-point from the *Futuhat i-Makkiya*[2] of Ibn Arabi, Kamal ud-Din Abdul Ghafur Lari's *Hashiya* of *Nafhat*[3] *ul-Uns* and the *Lawami*[4] of Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagori. It was shocking indeed to Mujaddid to see the son of his preceptor who had even lived with him, ignoring the principle which, according to him, was supported by the Naqshbandi traditions too.[5]

Khwaja Khurd wrote a number of tracts with a view to popularising the doctrines of *Tauhid i-Wujudi*. Some of these seem to be the translation from the Arabic tracts on the subject written by Shaikh Taj ud-Din Sambhali, a senior disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah who had settled in Mecca.[6] He wrote letters to Khwaja Muhammad Masum, son and successor of Mujaddid, emphasising the superiority of the *Wujudi* principles[7]. The compiler of the *Malfuzat* of Khwaja Khurd has gone to the extent of saying that only Ibn Arabi could in reality appreciate his master's works, had he been alive.[8]

The difference between the stand-point of Ibn Arabi and that of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani, according to him, were superficial. He regarded both of them as perfect.[9] He could not conceive of any form of *Tauhid* true to its spirit and essence but the *Tauhid i-Wujudi*. "*Tauhid i-Shuhudi* cannot exist without some form of *Nisbat* (connection or relation), while the very conception of *Nisbat* turns the Unity into Duality and the *Tauhid* disappears."[10] He regarded the *Shariat* as an outward form of the *Haqiqat* and the *Haqiqat* as the very essence of the *Shariat*.[11] According to him the highest form of the *Tauhid* was the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* whose subtle points were explained only by

1. Khwaja Khurd : *Risala i-Sama* (India Office, Delhi Persian, 1150), f. 80b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 81a.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 85 a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 85b.
5. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 266.
6. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 19.
7. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum* (Kanpur edition), Letter nos. 228, 230.
8. *Bayan i-Ahwal wa Malfuzat i-Khwaja Khurd*, f. 133 b.
9. *Ibid.*, f. 146b.
10. *Ibid.*, f. 176b.
11. *Ibid.*, f. 146b.

Ibn Arabi.[1] *Hama Ust* (All is He) was the principle popularised by him "*Arifs* (gnostics) have no independent existence. All that is known of them are the letters *Ain*, *Alif*, *Ra* and *Fa*, used in copying out the word. All the rest is He."[2] *Marifat* was thus no less than the whole of the *Shariat*, the *Tariqat* and the *Haqiqat*.[3] He thus did not see eye to eye with those who sought to neglect the *Shariat* and relegate it to secondary importance.[4]

Like all the protagonists of the *Tauhid i-Wujudi*, he emphasised that their teachings put an end to the differences and conflicts that existed between different people and sections and fostered the ideal of peaceful co-existence and harmonious living. A believer in *Tauhid i-Wujudi* could not discriminate between the distributors of sweets and the giver of cuffs.[5] The Khwaja himself lived upto this ideal throughout his life. If someone ridiculed him, he never criticised his adversary[6]. He infused this humane spirit in his disciples too ; Shah Abdur Rahim, the father of Shah Wāliullah, did not hesitate to protect and caress a dog which he found lying in the mire.[7]

OTHER PANTHEISTS

Of eminent monists and pantheists of Shah Jahan's reign, Shaikh Muhibbullah Mubariz Ilahabadi deserves special mention. He wrote monumental commentaries on Ibn Arabi's works. He belonged to Sadrpur in Awadh. After acquiring a thorough grounding in the traditional forms of contemporary learning, he got initiated into the Sabiriya branch of the Chishtis through Shaikh Abu Said Gangohi (*d.* 1049/1639-40) a disciple of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Faruqi Thaneswari.[8] After visiting important Chishti centres and places of pilgrimage, he finally settled down in Allahabad and lived there for about twenty years, till his death on 9 Rajab, 1058/30 July, 1648.

He bitterly criticised those commentators of *Fusus ul-Hikam* and Ibn Arabi's works who did not adhere to the original and failed to grasp the true spirit of his teachings. One such work, brought to his notice, was the *Sharhi-i-Qari* allegedly a garbled commentary on *Fusus*

1. *Ibid.*, f. 147b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 174b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 159 b.
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 163a, b, 174b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 162b.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 135a.
7. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 48.
8. Abdur Rahman Chishti : *Mirat ul-Asrar*, 486b.

ul-Hikam[1]. The works of Ibn Arabi, according to him, were thus neither to be interpreted literally nor metaphorically.[2] He regarded Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, the opponents of Ibn Arabi's teachings, superior to those commentators who did not seriously follow his works and sought to gloss over them.[3] He after reaching Allahabad, therefore, plunged headlong into a programme of popularising the correct import and significance of Ibn Arabi's works. He had compiled a commentary on *Fusus ul-Hikam* in Arabic at Sadrpur[4] before settling down at Allahabad ; but it was only a perfunctory attempt and could hardly be of any use to Indian scholars. He, therefore, compiled a Persian commentary on the work in 1041/1631-32[5]. The work seems to have obtained considerable popularity and he was approached by Shaikh Abdur Rahim Khairabadi on behalf of Dara Shukoh to supply a copy of the work to the Prince.[6] Through a number of treatises which he subsequently wrote, he sought to clarify the prevalent misunderstandings about *Tauhid i-Wujudi.* They are mainly based on the works of Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Qunawi, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Kashi and Shaikh Abdur Rahman Jami's interpretation of Ibn Arabi's works and teachings and possess no originality.

Of these, *Manazir i-Akhas ul-Khawas*, which he compiled on 13 Ramazan, 1050/27 December, 1640 comprises a systematic exposition of Ibn Arabi's teachings in twenty-seven chapters.[7] In the same year he completed a short treatise entitled *Haft Ihkam* comprising seven ordinances regarding divine realities, *Tajalliyat* and *Wujud.*[8] In 1051/1641, he commenced *Ibadat ul-Khawas*, and completed it in 1053/1643. It contains a discussion on various aspects of pantheistic Sufism from a popular point of view. It is interspersed with numerous illustrations,

1. *Makatib i-Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, incorrectly titled as *Makatib i-Mahmud Jaunpuri* (India Office, Delhi Mss.), f. 166b.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 168a, b.
3. *Makatib i-Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, f. 168b.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 168a.
5. Bankipur, XVI, no. 1400 ; Asiatic Society Bengal (Curzon Collections no. 440); Rampur, Riza Library.
6. *Makatib i-Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, f. 73a.
7. India Office (Delhi Persian, no. 113), Asiatic Society Bengal (Curzon Collections, no. 439).
8. India Office (Delhi Persian, no. 1024).

comments and anecdotes.[1] He also prepared an Arabic version of the work.[2] About this time he wrote a short treatise entitled *Seh Rukni* which comprises three main requirements (pillars) of the life of a believer in pantheism.[3] *Ghayat ul-Ghayat*, *Maghalit i-Amma*, *Sirr ul-Khawas*, *Turq ul-Khawas*, *Ibadat i-Akhas ul-Khawas*, and *Risala i-Wujud i-Mutlaq* are some of the other works, said to have been written, by him. Some of the letters in his *Makatib* are very detailed and comprise a profound defence of *Tauhid i-Wujudi*,[4] but none of his works could excel *Taswiyah* in popularity. It is a short treatise on *Wujud i-Mutlaq* in Arabic in which some of the subtle remarks of Ibn Arabi on the subject have been so ably stringed together by Shaikh Muhibbullah Ilahabadi that they give an impression of its being a unique original work in its own right. It evoked a storm of opposition mainly in Jaunpur on account of the influence of the Shaikh's contemporary, Mulla Mahmud,[5] and his followers. Shaikh Muhibbullah had, therefore, advised his disciples to keep the work strictly confined to themselves and not to show it to others.[6] Aurangzeb is also said to have taken strong exception to the work, but it seems to have been mainly due to Shaikh Muhibbullah's intimate relations with Dara Shukoh, otherwise a scholar of Aurangzeb's eminence, could not fail to find out that there was nothing new in it and that the work was simply a hash of the *Fusus ul-Hikam*. The following most objectionable remark was derived from the above work: "Jabrail of Muhammad was within the person of Muhammad himself. Likewise Jabrail existed in the very person of each Prophet which amounted to their spiritual power.

1. India Office (Delhi Persian, no. 170). Asiatic Society Bengal (Ivanow, no. 1084).
2. India Office (Delhi Persian, no. 1167).
3. India Office (Delhi Persian, no. 1002).
4. *cf. Makatib i-Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, Letter to Shaikh Abdur Rahim Khairabadi, not subsequently despatched to him on account of its being too lengthy. ff. 94a-111b.
5. Mulla Mahmud of Jaunpur was a great scholar of Mathematics, Physics and Philosophy [Muhammad Salih Kamboh: *Amal i-Salih* Calcutta, 1939, p. 391]. He wrote *al-Hikmat al-Baligha* in Arabic on Physics and later attached a commentary to it, entitled *al-Shams al-Bazighah*, which is more famous than the original work. (Bankipur XXI, no. 2393). Hamdullah b. Shukrullah b. Shaikh Daniyal b. Pir Muhammad as-Siddiqi (*d.* 1160/1747), Mulla Nizam ud-Din b. Qutb ud-Din as-Sihalvi (*d.* 1161/1748) and Mulla Hasan b. Qazi Ghulam Mustafa of Lucknow are the most prominent commentators of *al-Shams al-Bazighah* (Bankipur, XXI no. 2396, 2399 and 2400).
6. *Makatib i Shaikh Muhibbullah*, f. 184b.

When that power over-whelmed the prophets, *Wahi* descended on them. Therefore Jabrail held converstions with each Prophet in the latter's language".[1]

Since Shaikh Muhibbullah had already died, no action could be taken against him. It was brought to the notice of the Emperor that two of his disciples, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Qannauji (an imperial servant) and Shaikh Muhammadi, who led the retired life of an ascetic, were available in the capital. When Mir Saiyid Muhammd Qannauji was asked to explain the contents of the *Taswiyah*, he denied ever having been associated with the Shaikh. The message was then sent to Shaikh Muhammadi that if he claimed to be a disciple of Shaikh Muhibbullah he should reconcile the statements made in the *Taswiyah* with the ordinances of the *Shara*, but if he was incapable of doing so, he should show repentance on having entered into the discipleship of the Shaikh, and reduce the tract to ashes. Shaikh Muhammadi said, "I do not deny being his disciple, nor does it behove me to show repentance for I have not yet reached that elevated mystic stage which the Shaikh had acquired and from which he talked. The day I reach that stage, I would write a commentary as desired. However, if His Majesty has finally decided to reduce the tract to ashes, much more fire is available in the royal kitchen than can be had in the house of the ascetics who have resigned themselves to God. Orders may be issued to burn the work along with the copies that can be acquired". The Emperor was unable to reply and so kept quiet.[2] No restrictions were laid on the

1. Sher Khan Lodi : *Mirat ul-Khayal* (1831), p. 325; *cf.* Kalimullah Jahanabadi: *Sharh i-Risalah i-Taswiyah* (India Office, Delhi Persian, no. 1067a), f. 37b.
2. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, pp. 325-326. According to the author of *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, Muhammadi was imprisoned by Aurangzeb at the instance of the third Qaiyum. A large number of eminent nobles particularly Ruhullah Khan the Amir ul-Umara were his disciples but they could not secure his release. Once he was ordered by Aurangzeb to proceed to Mecca. The imperial guards accompanied him. After his return from Mecca he was again placed behind bars. The sentences that he generally uttered could be interpreted in more than one way. When he returned from Mecca people enquired, "What sort of place did you find Mecca?". He said,"It is the *Taharat Khana* (lavatory) of human requirements." This reply brought forth strong remonstrance from the people. He, therefore, immediately switched on to this interpretation: "It is a sacred place. People go there when impelled by their needs." Some people told him that the flies could not sit on the body of Prophet Muhammad. Muhammadi replied, "There is nothing unusual in this. If a particular lotion is applied on the body, the flies cannot sit on it." He died in prison. (*Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, f. 286). This

study of the *Taswiyah*. A number of commentaries were subsequently written on the work and a short one by Khwaja Khurd, the son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, was compiled seemingly in the reign of Aurangzeb himself.[1] A detailed commentary was compiled by a person of no less an eminence than Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, the great Chishti saint (*d.* 24 Rabi 1,1142/17 Oct., 1729), who did not spare even Mujaddid in the above commentary and vehemently criticised the latter's remarks that the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* was meant only for the beginners who sought to acquire Sufic discipline.[2]

The main opposition to the entire system of Sufis in general and the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* in particular, in the reign of Shah Jahan, was led by Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri and his talented disciples. They sought to emphasise the preponderance of rational thinking over mysticism and dogma both. Shaikh Muhibbullah had, therefore, to fight a battle royal against this tendency which dominated an important cultural centre of Northern India, like Jaunpur. He could not refute them through logical disputation. He, therefore, undertook a campaign of vilification of rationalism and its dialectic. "The secrets of divine knowledge are beyond the comprehension of reason"[3] was his battle-cry. He condemned the study of *Kalam* and Philosophy both lock, stock and barrel.[4] He drew upon the works of those Muslim scholars of repute who held fast to the monistic principles. According to him there was a world of difference between a Sunni who had mastery over *Kalam* and one who possessed divine knowledge.[5] Philosophy was nothing but a source of sin and damnation to him.[6] He wrote letters to Mulla Mahmud with the view of convincing him regarding the limitations of intellect and reason as far as the attainment of 'divine realities' was concerned.[7] He based his arguments on quotations from Ibn Arabi's works. Similarly the Ulama who had acquired a formal knowledge,

anecdote, like others of the *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, does not deserve any serious attention, for the contemporary scholar Sher Khan Lodi, hostile to the monists and pantheists, has made no mention of Aurangzeb's reaction to Muhammadi's reply.

1. India Office (Delhi Persian nos. 1167b, 1166 ; Delhi Arabic, 1851a, 715b.)
2. *Sharh i-Risalah i-Taswiyah*, India Office, (Delhi Persian, no. 1067 a, pp. 40a-40b.)
3. *Makatib i-Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, *f.* 112a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 152a.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 115b.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 98a.
7. *Ibid.*, ff. 47b-49a.

he argued, could not appreciate the accomplishments of the Ulama who possessed divine knowledge *i.e.* the Sufis. Their criticism of the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* emanated from the ignorance of the Sufic discipline. The importance of Ibn Arabi's teachings could, however, be realized in an atmosphere free from hide-bound prejudices.[1]

Amongst the Sufis who opposed the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* and criticised the works of Ibn Arabi, he mentioned only Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. He accused Ala ud-Daula of not following the true significance of Ibn Arabi's theory of *Wujud i-Mutlaq*[2] and taking it too literally.[3] He did not attach much importance to the criticisms of Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz[4] and exploited the non-bestowal of his *Khirqa* to any one of his disciples by Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh of Dehli, to his own advantage. The remarks of Shaikh Muhibbullah tend to show that Gesu Daraz had not thoroughly imbibed the Chishti monistic traditions ; otherwise there was no reason for his having been denied the *Khirqa* by his preceptor, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh.[5]

According to him only those scholars, ascetics and mystics followed Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani who were not able to achieve their ultimate goal of spiritual perfection.[6] He thus labelled all other Sufis who opposed Ibn Arabi as the *Sufi i-Jahil* (ignorant Sufi) or the *Amma ahl i-Tariq* (common-place followers of the mystic path) for they regarded the Absolute Being who is immanent as transcendent. They followed the dialectics of the scholars of *Kalam* in matters related to the highest form of spiritual truth.[7] The very titles of his works show that they were meant only for the highly elect amongst the Sufis. He wrote, "Shaikh (Ibn Arabi) had remarked that the insight into the *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and the *Wujud i-Mutlaq* was one of the most difficult of tasks."

Like some other pantheists of his times, he laid considerable emphasis on the acquisition of mystic knowledge from the Hindus too. In one

1. *Manazir i-Akhas ul-Khawas* (Delhi Persian no 1113), ff. 2a-4b.
2. *Makatib i-Shaikh Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, ff. 18b, 19a, 59a, 100a, 100b, 113a, 1366, 169b.
3. *Ibid.*, ff. 32a, 173a.
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 100a-100b, 113a, 169b.
5. *Ibid.*, 32b.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 154b.
7. *Makatib i-Shaikh Muhibbullah Ilahabadi*, f. 153a.

of his letters he has quoted the Hindu theory of cosmogony[1] but his knowledge of Hindu mysticism seems to be very superficial though there were considerable opportunities to acquire it at Allahabad. He probably thought himself too old to acquire it or too busy with his scheme of work to pay attention to it. However, one of his eminent disciples, Shaikh Muhammadi, undertook the study of Hindu mysticism with the *Pundits* systematically, after acquiring a perfect grounding in pantheism, under him. The fact was mentioned by Shaikh Muhibbullah himself in one of his letters to Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti who himself had acquired considerable knowledge of Hindu mysticism and sought to popularise Hindu thoughts amongst the Muslims. Shaikh Muhibbullah was satisfied with the impression which Muhammadi was able to make on the *Pundits*.[2] The exchange of views must have indeed benefited both of them. Shaikh Muhibbullah, however, did not fail to define the true spirit of peaceful co-existence. According to him it did not amount to approving of the evils or taking the bitter to be sweet. That, according to him, was a morbid state of mind and *Pirs* and *Imams* had prescribed cures for that. The following lines of Maulana Rum, however, represented the true spirit of "peace with all" :

> We practised "peace with all", with every one,
>
> Do us enmity and don't hesitate.[3]

This attitude remained a dominant tract of his character and is clearly borne out by his letters. He did not like to antagonise even his opponents and generally preferred to avoid controversies unless he was dragged into them. He regarded himself a humble seeker after knowledge and sought to convince his opponents as politely and gently as he could. This was the main cause of his success and swelled the ranks of his admirers and disciples and even prince Dara Shukoh could not help seeking his guidance in his mystic yearnings. He wrote several letters to satisfy himself. In one of his letters to Dara Shukoh, he urged the need of looking after the peace and prosperity of all the human beings, without any distinction of caste and creed.[4] He informed the Prince, "The Holy Prophet has been referred to as

1. *Ibid.*, f. 168a.
2. *Makatib i-Shaikh Muhibbullah*, f. 171 b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 152b.
4. *Faiyaz ul-Qawanin* in *Ruqqat i-Alamgir* (Azamgarh).

Rahmatullil-Alamin—a blessing to all the worlds and not only to Muslims.[1]" Shah Jahan, in a letter, earnestly requested him to pay a visit to him and quoted the following tradition to convince the Shaikh : "Obey God and obey the Prophet and all those among you who are in command." Shaikh Muhibbullah politely declined the Emperor's invitation and wrote to him, "How can one reach the third stage when one is not able to fulfil the obligations needed for the first two stages ?"[2]

The main plank of Miyan Mir's philosophy was that the humanity is a sacred trust of the Almighty. Naturally, he possessed a very humane outlook and did not examine contemporary problems from a narrow communal or sectarian point of view. He advised the rulers to look after the prosperity of the country and the subjects, to be compassionate to the people and benevolent to the needy. The magnanimity of his heart and the nobleness of his soul prompted him to address his disciples as comrades ; so he never called them disciples.[3] He told Jahangir, "Your Majesty's existence is indispensable for the protection of the people. Through the blessings of Your Majesty's justice the *Faqirs* also remain peacefully occupied in their job."[4] He did not commence his conversation with Shah Jahan, when the latter first visited him, with a discourse on religion or faith but informed him, "It is the duty of just kings that they should remain vigilant about their subjects and dominions. The prosperity of his subjects, by seeking to populate new areas and bringing them under cultivation, should be his foremost concern as it makes the soldiery contented and the treasury full."[5] He considered the ruler to be a perfect specimen of humanity and the chief manifestation of the Almighty. Though he attached great importance to the presence of a ruler on earth, he ranked a Sufi higher than a ruler. "When a Sufi becomes perfect"

1. *Ibid*
2. Letters of Shaikh Muhibbullah and Shah Jahan quoted by K.A. Nizami : *Tarikh i-Mashaikh i-Chisht* (Delhi, 1953), pp. 225-226.
3. Dara Shukoh : *Sakinat ul-Auliya* (Rampur Mss), f. 162b.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 135a.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 137b. *cf.* Similar are Gosain Jadrup's remarks which he made on the occasion of the third visit of Jahangir to him in Ujjain in 1618-19 : "In what language can I return thanks for this gift of Allah that I am engaged in the reign of such a just king in the worship of my own deity in ease and contentment, and that the dust of this composer from any accident settles not on the skirt of my purpose." [*Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. II, pp. 52-53)].

he remarked, "his heart does not care for risks. Nothing harms him. He is himself a ruler. How can he care for others? All the rulers are under him."[1] Possessing a broad outlook, the visits of the royal personages did not disturb him in the least and he remained engrossed in his own devotional exercises.

Hazrat Bari, who left an indelible impression on Dara Shukoh, also advised the latter to carefully look after his subjects. Dara Shukoh says, "One day a few peasants of a village, where the saint lived in his youth, were in attendance. I was also present. He asked me whether I had taken care of them and protected them. I replied that I did not know who they were. He told me that they were my tenants, who laboured and cultivated the land which brought revenue to the royal treasury and that I should be kind to them and protect them."[2]

Like other monists and panthesists, Miyan Mir and his followers attached no importance to the external forms of religion, though Miyan Mir[3] and some of them very scrupulously followed the duties enjoined by the *Shariat*, which was regarded by them as the first step to the path of obedience to God. *Tariqat* or the mystic path led the seekers to higher planes of nearness to God and the *Haqiqat* brought the Sufis to their goal *i.e.* the stage of being absorbed into Being of the Almighty. To draw a distinction between believers and *kafirs*, heaven and hell, reward and punishment was frivolous in their eyes, deserving the attention and attachment only of the ignorant. Heaven they defined as union with the Almighty and Hell as separation from Him.[4] One day Miyan Mir is said to have remarked to Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, "There are two ways of reaching the Almighty. One is through *Jazba* (emotional attraction) according to which the Almighty attracts the seeker towards Him once for all and makes him one with His own Self. The second way is through *Suluk* which demands the performance of strenuous ascetic exercises on the part of the seeker who is able to hold on to the skirts of the Almighty. Its procedure is as follows: The first stage which the seeker reaches is that of *Alam i-Malakut* (Astromental Plane). It is the duty of the Preceptor that, having put the seekers

1. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, f. 140b.
2. Dara Shukoh : *Hasnat ul-Arifin* (Rampur Mss). f. 60a.
3. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, f. 156a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 269a.

to the *Tariqa* (the mystic path), he should direct his disciples to meditate in the jungles and gardens in seclusion and have no connection with the people so that they may achieve their goal." Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti thereupon remarked, "This would deprive the seeker of the benefit of joining congregational prayers." Miyan Mir retorted, "It is surprising to see that you make such remarks. It is the duty of the Muslims that they should first of all find out the underlying spirit behind the *Namaz* and be able to acquire the concentration of mind so that their *Namaz* should be in order. Of what use is the congregational prayer if there is no concentration of mind ? A *Namaz* performed individually and singly but with a concentration of mind and the knowledge of the correct method of its performance is more fruitful than the congregational prayer done almost mechanically. We also meditated in jungles but never missed the congregational prayers. For the purpose of meditation, our party would break up and each would repair to some shady tree or corner to meditate but the party would form itself again at the time of congregational prayer which was a regular feature."[1] Prayers performed in a mechanical way with no concentration of mind carried no meaning for Miyan Mir and gave him no satisfaction. The seeker was required to banish everything but the Almighty from his mind while offering prayers.[2] Even many of the contemporary saints, according to him, could not come up to this hard test. This form of *Namaz* he called *Namaz i-Be Khatra* or *Namaz* without any risk. Shaikh Muhibbullah of Allahabad, explaining the real significance of this form of *Namaz*, wrote to Dara Shukoh that *Namaz i-Be Khatra* could be performed only in the circumstance that all hopes and fears were removed from the mirror of heart and the external and internal eyes were so engrossed in beholding the waves of *Wahdat* that the beholder even lost the consciousness of the act he was engrossed in.[3]

The formal prayers of Ulama and Sufis and their discourses were unhesitatingly ridiculed in *Rubais* by poets like Sarmad[4] in the reign of

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 139a, 139b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 138b.
3. Shaikh Muhibbullah's letter to Dara Shukoh (*Faiyaz ul-Qawanin* ; S. Najib Ashraf Nadwi: *Ruqaat i-Alamgir* (Azamgarh), Vol. I, pp. 327-328.
4. Muhammad Said or Said Sarmad was born in the first half of the seventeenth century and came to Kashan, an important business centre in Iran, halfway

Shah Jahan. These *rubais* became house-hold words in every Muslim family on account of their popular nature. Sang he :—

between Tehran and Isfahan. He was a descendant of a family of the Rabbis (Priests) and seems to have mastered the Hebrew language with its rabbinical literature. He later on studied the *New Testament* and other books on Christianity and subsequently sat at the feet of Mulla Sadr ud-Din of Shiraz, commonly known as Mulla Sadra, a great philosopher and independent thinker (*d.* 1640 A. D., [*cf.* Browne, E. G.: *A History of Persian Literature*, Vol. IV, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 429-432) [and Abul Qasim Findarski, (*d ca* 1050/1640) a notable philosopher. He made a journey to India, and there, according to the *Dabistan i-Mazahib* (Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 140-141) came under the influence of certain disciples of Azar Kaiwan and imbibed Zoroastrian and Hindu or Budhist ideas which inspired him to declare that he would never perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, since it would involve taking the life of an innocent animal. (*A History of Persian Literature*, Vol. IV, pp. 257-258). On account of their influence Sarmad is said to have embraced Islam but retained the spirit of eclecticism and free thinking, which he imbibed from Abul Qasim Findarski, throughout his life. He reached Thatta by sea in 1042/1632-33. There he fell in love with a boy named Abhai Chand but the parents of the boy concealed him. Frustration and a sense of madness over-powered him so he took to nudity. After some time the boy joined Sarmad, who subsequently shifted to Lahore where he was seen in 1044/1634-35 by Mutamad Khan. Long hair had grown over his body and long nails in his fingers. He was fairly popular there and nobles, high officials of the court and people from all walks of life thronged around him. (*Majma ul-Afkar*, Bankipur, IV, p. 87, f. 195b). Sarmad taught Abhai Chand, the *Pentateuch* and the *Psalms*. The Persian translation of the opening chapter of the *Genesis* now incorporated in the *Dabistan i-Mazahib* was made by Abhai Chand. Sarmad later on shifted to Hyderabad (1057/1647-48) where he was accorded a warm welcome by Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672). In 1059/1649-50 the author of *Dabistan i-Mazahib* was also present in an assembly in which he predicted that Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla would attain very high dignity. (*Dabistan i-Mazahib*, Lucknow 1904, pp. 242-244). He reached Delhi *ca* 1654 A. D. and became a close associate of Dara Shukoh. Sher Khan Lodi, an authority hostile to Dara Shukoh, says "As Dara Shukoh had a liking for lunatics, he associated himself with his company and enjoyed his discourses for a considerable time." (Sher Khan Lodi: *Mirat ul-Khayal*, Calcutta, 1246/1831 p. 216). Manucci and Bernier had also seen him roaming about the streets of Delhi quite naked. However, when he appeared before prince Dara Shukoh he used a piece of cloth to hide his private parts. [Bernier: *Travels*. p. 317 ; Manucci : *Storia de Mogor* Vol. I, p. 223) *cf.* Maulawi Wali Khan Sahib : A Sketch of the life of Sarmad *J. A. S. B.* 1924, Vol. 20, pp. 111-112, by the same author (*Indian Antiquery* Bombay, Vol. 39, 1910, pp. 121-122) ; B. A. Hashmi : Sarmad : His Life and Quatrains (*Islamic Culture*, 1933, pp. 663-672, and 1934 pp. 92-104) ; Asiri, F. M.: *Rubaiyat i-Sarmad* (Santiniketan, 1950, pp. I-XXII).]

'Talk not about the Kaba and the temple with every one,
And in the valley of doubt walk not like deviated ones.
Learn the form of worship from Satan himself !
Take only One as the object of worship ; bend not before any other.'[1]

And further :

'He does not live only in the temple and the mosque,
But all the heavens and the earth are His abode.
The whole universe is gone mad about His name !
Yes, wise is one who is lost in Him.'[2]

Sarmad was able to see the Almighty in all that existed in the universe. Formal worship in mosques, churches and temples could not kindle his love for the Almighty. He says :

'Which is the idol, which is the fashioner?
Which is the lover and loved one here ?
Ask in the church, the temple, the *Kaba*.
And all is silence, all is darkness there.

Yet in the garden where the sunshine glows,
One Perfect Presence moves in all that grows.
He is the lover, He the beloved,
He is the bramble and He is the rose.

Is the heart wise ? then the Beloved is there,
Does the eye see ? it sees Him everywhere.
Does the ear hear ? it hears but talk of Him,
Does the tongue speak ? it lays the secret bare'.[3]

Nor did the monists and pantheists of Shah Jahan's reign spare even the *Mullas* and Alims from criticism. Saint of Bari, whom Dara Shukoh considered his preceptor, informed the Prince, "I have killed the *Mulla* and the *Pandit* both. With whom then can I study anything?"[4] Dara Shukoh was more frank in his utterances about the self-conceited and ignorant *Mullas*. He says :

'Paradise is there where no *Mulla* abides,

1. Asiri, F. M. : *Rubaiyat i-Sarmad* (Santiniketan, 1950), no. 249.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 50.
3. B. A. Hashmi ; Sarmad—His life and Quatrains (*Islamic Culture*, January 1934), pp 99-100.
4. Dara Shukoh: *Hasnat ul-Arifin* (Rampur Mss.), f. 58a.

Where there is no argument and tumult with him.
May the world become free from the noise of the *Mulla* !
May no one pay heed to his *Fatwas* !
In the city where a *Mulla* resides,
No wise man is ever found.'[1]

In a quatrain he criticises the ignorant *Mulla* thus :—

'What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam ?
Said Husain (Mansur Hallaj), (I am) the Truth, and got the gallows,
Every prophet and saint, who suffered affliction and torments,
Was the victim of the vicious and ignominous conduct of the *Mullas*'.[2]

The defence of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* in Shah Jahan's reign came mainly from three sources :

1. The aphorisms of ascetics, like Miyan Mir, who did not express themselves in writing ;

2. Works of Sufis like Shaikh Muhibbullah of Allahabad and Mulla Shah who had great mastery over the subject and wrote systematic defence of *Wahdat ul-Wujud*, and Dara Shukoh who collected the *Shathiyat*[3] of the saints and wrote short treatises ;
3. Assorted verses and *rubais* mainly of Sarmad.

Miyan Mir was overcautious in his utterances regarding pantheistic beliefs and was not in favour of inviting unnecessary criticism. During his long stay of about sixty years in Lahore, people from all classes, Ulama, pious people, ascetics and worldly persons, came in contact with him but none could ever find any fault with him.[4] However, he would unequivocally declare his belief in the mystic philosophy of *Fusus ul-Hikam* and considered the Unity of God beyond the comprehension of ordinary human beings. He declared :

'Discourse on *Wahdat* is like a mirage,

Oh son ! who could quench his thirst from mirage.

1. Bikrama Jit Hasrat : *Dara Shikuh, Life amd Works* (Vishvabharati, 1953), p. 139.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
3. The sayings of ecstatics.
4. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, f. 109a.

If one indulges in conversation on *Wahdat* with an ignorant,

Nothing would come out from it but disgrace."[1]

He remembered a number of the excerpts of the *Futuhat i-Makkiya* of Shaikh Muhi ud-Din ibn ul-Arabi and would recite page after page of the commentary on *Fusus ul-Hikam* by Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami from memory.[2]

Mulla Shah , the preceptor of Dara Shukoh, concentrated mainly on the writing of commentaries on the *Quran* and *Masnawis* on mysticism. According to Sher Khan Lodi he was not able to complete more than one *Sipara*[3] of the commentary but the following chapters of the work are available in Khuda Bakhsh Library Bankipur, Patna. It appears that Mulla Shah in fact completed a considerable portion of his commentary.[4]

1. al Fatihah (The opening), chapter I
2. al Baqarah (The cow), chapter II
3. Al Imran (The family of Imran), chapter III
4. Yusuf (Joseph), chapter XII

Commentaries on the *Quran* and its verses from the point of view of monists and pantheistic mysticism are not unknown.[5] His interpretation of the verse : "0 you who believe ! do not go near prayer when you are intoxicated,[6]" has become a subject of popular criticism due to its having received publicity through *Hasnat ul-Arifin* of Dara Shukoh[7] and *Mirat ul-Khayal* of Sher Khan Lodi.[8] Mulla Shah interpreted the above verse as follows : "*Sukr* is a higher stage than the performance of prayers and amounts to nearness to the Almighty. The nearness to prayers in the event of phantasmal (*Majazi*) intoxication is prohibited so that the prayers may not be polluted. This prohibition is imposed in consideration of the sanctity of prayers. Likewise in the

1. *Hasnat ul-Arifin*, f. 50a.
2. Muhammad Salih Kamboh : *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, (Calcutta, 1939), p. 363.
3. One portion of the thirty into which the *Quran* has been divided.
4. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, p. 201.
5. *Supra*, p 1.
6. Chapter IV, 43.
7. *Hasnat ul-Arifin*, f. 54a.
8. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, pp. 199-201.

case of spiritual intoxication nearness to *Namaz* is forbidden for the sake of the preservation of the sanctity of intoxication." This did not necessarily mean forsaking the prayers, by each and every Muslim. Islamic orthodoxy always yielded an exception to *Majzubs.* Mulla Shah like his preceptor was himself very particular in the performance of *Namaz* and claimed to have been free, throughout his life, from all diseases which could preclude him from performing the *Namaz.*[1] Mulla Shah had only laid the stage of complete submersion into God on a higher pedestal and considered that state to be unsurpassed in the spiritual life of human beings.

His *Masnawis* also unfold his philosophy. *Risala i-Bismillah* or treatise on the initial formula, was composed by him in 1057 H, or rather, in the first seven days of 1058 H, (beginning of February, 1648 A. D.) in the metre of Nizami's *Makhzan ul-Asrar,*[2] and contains 3,012 *baits* or verses,[3] *Risala i-Hamd u na't u manqabat* or the treatise on the praise of God, the encomium on the Prophet, and the eulogium of the *Imams* was composed by him in the metre of Firdausi's *Shahnama*[4] in 1055/1645-46 and contains 3,654[5] *baits* (verses). In the same year he composed *Risala i-Shahiya* which contains numerous references relating to Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh.[6] *Risala i-Diwana* or the treatise on ecstasy; *Risala i-Murshid,* the treatise on the spiritual guide; *Risala i-Nisbat* or the treatise on spiritual relationship, *Risala i-Hosh* or the treatise on consciousness ; and *Risala i-Walwala* or the treatise on lamentation unfold the truth of pantheistic mysticism in most touching and effective verses.[7] His *Diwan* or the collection of *Ghazals* in alphabetical order is in the form of letters from a lover to his beloved.[8]

In his poetry he did not stick to the formal known distinction between a *kafir* and a believer. A believer according to him was one who had reached God and beheld Him while a *kafir* was one who could

1. Jahan Ara Begum : *Sahibiya* (*Oriental College Magzine,* August, 1937), p. 9.
2. Ethe, no. 972.
3. Ethe, no. 1580; Bankipur III, 327.
4. Ethe, no. 860.
5. Ethe, no. 1580 (9); Bankipur III, 327.
6. Ethe, no. 1580 (8); Bankipur II, no. 328.
7. Ethe, 1580 ; Bankipur III, 327, 328.
8. Bankipur III, 328.

neither reach Him, nor behold nor recognise him. Mulla Shah in one of his verses says :—

"The thread of our rosary became the thread of the *Zunnar* (Brahminical thread)

Our wise men lead us to the tavern.

The light of our *kufr* has burnt the darkness of Islam,

What other calamities are (not) brought on us on account of this?"

All his verses highlight the intimate and personal love of God, the disparagement of mere lip-service to formal prayers, quietism and asceticism. Spiritual life alone is to be sought and the phenomenal world is to be treated as a mere mirage or shadow of Being and the only reality which permeates every object is that of God.

He writes :

'Man is one with God in marrow and crust

He (man) is the marrow of Him ; and He (the Almighty) is the marrow of him (man).

The difference between man and God is the same as the difference between writing a letter in a straight or in a curved hand writing.

The wise knew, he himself became God, 0 Friend !"[1]

Mulla Shah divided the faith into three categories :

1. "The faith of commonalty, which consists in verbal profession and verification—'Faith is belief in God and the Prophet and the angels and the revealed books and in life after death and in hell and heaven."

2. "The faith of those of the inner circle, which consists in physical and mental obedience to any one of the Divine attributes, whichsoever illumines the mind ; such being the case with Moses who could not forbear the light of the Divine attribute.

3. "The faith of those of the innermost circle, which is in reality 'the gnosis, the acknowledgement and acceptance', and consists in the absorption of all human attributes in search of God. This is possible when'the veil of ego is lifted and mind is illumined with the light of Divine manifestation. The dim recollection of conscious life fades away and the man is unmindful of time, place and distance."[2]

It was the third phase of faith which was to be sought for and also to be kept secret from common people. He wrote to Dara Shukoh,

1. *Hasnat ul-Arifin*, ff. 54b-56a.

2. Hasrat : *Dara Shikuh : Life and Works*, pp. 89-90 ; *Sakinat ul-Auliya.*

"Remember that the secrets of the fold should never be divulged to outsiders ; do keep them concealed. It should be clear to you that one should be less inspired in the company of those who have less benefit of God's grace ; do not be over confident. It is evident that for the completion of one's work, exertions to the utmost are incumbent ; do exert yourself. He who is sincere in his intentions is surely a lover and he who is a lover is worthy of the bliss of the Beatific vision. The perfect man is he who is not reprehended by any body whether common people or inmates of the innermost circle ; who does not neglect the performance of any work enjoined upon either by the dogma of Islam or the path of the esoteric Islam. First comes the *gnosis* which is the effect of good company. The second is the *concentration of mind* which is the result of self control. The third is the *law* which means conformity with mankind in general. Inwardly our every action must conform with Truth ; and outwardly we should act like people at large. Love those, who hold similar views and shun the hypocrites."[1]

Engrossed in the love of the Almighty as they were and having acquired nearness to Him, the monists and pantheists like Sarmad did not relish discussing matters relating to man's relations with God. Dara Shukoh wrote to Sarmad, "If 'I' be 'I', wherefore is my intention of no account ? If 'I' be naught, where is my fault ? Though the assassination of Imam Husain was the will of God, who is Yazid between them ? If it is not the Divine Will, then what is the meaning of 'God does whatever He wills, commands whatever He intends.' The most excellent Prophet used to go to fight with the infidels and defeat was inflicted on the army of Islam. The esoteric scholars say it is discipline in resignation. For the perfect what discipline was necessary ?"

Sarmad sent only the following couplet in reply to the above letter :

1. Qanungo: *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 256-257; *Sakinat ul-Auliya* (Rampur Mss). This advice became essential for Dara Shukoh, in view of his extremely unpalatable remarks against the theologians. Though he had been the target of bitter criticism of the Ulama, for his frank utterances against them, by 1062/1651-52 when he planned his *Hasnat ul-Arifin*, he did not hesitate to wield his pen against them even in this work. He addressed his opponents as *Dajjals* who posed like Isa, *Firauns* who assumed the attributes of Musa and *Abu Jehls* who claimed to be following Prophet Muhammad. [*Hasnat ul-Arifin* (Rampur Mss. f. 1b].

'Whatever we have read, we have forgotten,

Save the discourse of the Beloved which we reiterate.'[1]

Sarmad did not find any place devoid of the presence of the Almighty but perceived the same Being manifesting Himself in different forms everywhere. He says :—

'Thou art cyprus or primrose sometimes and sometimes jasmine ;

Sometimes mountain or desert and sometimes garden ;

Sometimes light of the lamp and sometimes, scent of flowers ;

Sometimes Thou art in the garden and sometimes in a meeting.'[2]

In another *rubai* he says ;

'He (God) does not live outside this world ;

He is a Person who lives in and out of all.

Truth is also untruth, but untruth is not truth.

There is no other origin of creation except Himself'.[3]

Dara Shukoh, despite his long associations with the saint of Bari could not elicit his name from him. He would always reply that all names were His names and *Faqirs* had no names. Dara Shukoh, impressed with this attitude, expressed his reaction in the following quatrain :

'Never have I found a single atom separate from the sun,

Every drop is in itself the ocean.

With what name one can invoke God ?

Whatever name exists is His name'.[4]

Dara Shukoh himself wrote two treatises—*Tariqat wa-Haqiqat* and *Risala i-Haq Numa*—to explain the pantheistic philosophy and to establish the highest stage which the *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat* possessed in the realm of spiritual development. *Risala i-Haq Numa,* which he wrote after 8 Rajab, 1055/30 September, 1645 when he had got himself initiated into the Qadiri order[5] and completed in 1056/1646[6]

1. Maulawi Abdul Wali Khan Sahib: A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad. (*JASB* Vol. II, 1924, p. 118).
2. *Rubaiyat i-Sarmad,* no. 324.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 68.
4. *Hasnat ul-Arifin* (Rampur Mss.), f. 57a; Bikramajit Hasrat ; pp. 109-110.
5. Dara Shukoh : *Haq Numa* (Lucknow, 1883), p. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

is based only on pantheistic works *viz. Futuhat ul-Makkiya* and *Fusus ul-Hikam* of Muhi ud-Din Ibn ul-Arabi, *Risala i-Sawanih* by al-Ghazzali, *Lawaih dar bayan i-maani o maarif*, *Lawami* of Nur ud-Din Abdur Rahman Jami and *Lamat* of Fakhrud-Din Iraqi.[1] *Tariqat wa Haqiqat* written in mixed prose and verse brings out thirty *Manazil* or stages of spiritual development. The work, in a very interesting manner, seeks to make a distinction between the path of reason and knowledge and the path of intense devotion verging on lunacy with a view to submerging one's individuality into that of the Almighty, and places the latter path (the path of devotion) on a superior level to the former path. He concludes: "Reason's ultimate goal seemed to be the Lord's abode, while Insanity sat busy ringing bells in the temple of idolatry; the former meditated on the *Dhikr* but the latter wore the sacred thread (*Zunnar*); the former took the rosary in its hands but the latter soothed the ringlets of sweet-heart's tresses. Gradually Reason lost hold on its own self and Insanity raised its head out of madness. It entered the forest of annihilation and ceased all argumentation on how and why. So reason lost its former lustre :

"This day self-concsiousness dawned upon me !
I am enchanted. How does it come to pass ?
For enlightenment's sake I kept my torch alight—
Reason was driven out and Insanity stepped in."[2]

The tangible result of the interest in pantheism which sought to widen the outlook of the Muslims, was that *Vedanta*, *Yoga* and Indian mysticism came to be studied with added interest by Muslims also. Akbar's reign was a great departure from the preceding ones so far as the translation of Sanskrit works was concerned, in the respect that his translation bureau encouraged a systematic study of the salient features of Hinduism not for polemics but for creating a better understanding between the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Bikramaji Hasrat is not sure if Dara Shukoh had utilised the above works; (*Dara Shukoh: Life and Works*, pp. 123-124). The works under reference were prescribed in the curriculum of those days and Dara Shukoh, engrossed in pantheistic lore as he was, could not ignore the study of the above works, mainly those of Jami, Iraqi and Ibn Arabi.
2. Hasrat, p. 119; *cf.* Concluding verses.

خرد را با جنون اندیشه لنگ است - قبای عقل بر دیوانه تنگ است
بخرد صحبت دریغا این چه ننگ است - که دانش را جنون کام نهنگ است

two communities.[1] Akbar bequeathed this healthy tradition to his son and successor Jahangir. The salient features of *Vedanta* appealed to the inquisitive brain of Jahangir too and he did not find any difficulty in perceiving the similarity between the two.[2]

One Sufi, Sharif by name, made an abstract translation of *Yoga Vasishta* and dedicated it to Jahangir.[3] An abridged translation of the *Ramayana* in 5,9000 *Masnawi Baits* (verses) was completed by Girdhardas Kayeth in 1033/1623 which too was dedicated to Jahangir.[4] Another abridged poetical translation of the *Ramayana* dedicated to the Emperor was done by Shaikh Sadullah Masih.[5] In Jahangir's reign, *Sinhasanadvatrinsati* or *Sinhasnadvatrinasatika*, thirty-two stories of the throne, also called *Vikramacaritam* or the stories of King Vikramaditya was translated in 1019/1610 by one Bharinmal or Bharamal or Bharimal b. Rajmal Khatri, as his name is variously given.[6] Kishandas b. Muluk Chand Tamboli, a resident of Lahore and attendant upon Nawwab Jarullah Amir ul-Umara, likewise prepared a translation of *Sinhasanadvatrinsati* or *Singhasan Battisi* in this very reign and entitled it *Kishan Bilas* (*Kri- shna-Vilasa*).[7] Ibn Harkaran or rather Bisbarai prepared another version of the same work in Shahjahan's reign.[8]

Much original work to popularise Hindu mythology and thought was done by Abdur Rahman b. Abdur Rasul b. Qasim b. Shah Budh

1. Abul Fazl says :
چون بدریافت کامل خودنزاع فرائق ملت محمدی وجهود و هنود را بیشتریافت وانکار یکدیگر زیاده
ازاندازه معلوم شد خاطرنکته دان بران قرار یافت که کتب معتبرۀ طائفین بزبان مخالف ترجمه
کرده اید تاهردو فریق به برکت انفاس قدسی حضرت اکمل الزمانی ازشدت تعنت و عنادبر آمده
جویاي حق شوند وبرمحاسن وعیوب یکدیگر اطلاع یافته دراصلاح احوال خودمساعی جمیله نمایند
Abul Fazl : *Preface to the Translation of Mahabharat* (Nawal Kishore p. 15); Rizvi, S. A. A. : Abul Fazl's Preface to the Persian Translation of the Mahabharat (*Proceedings* 13th *Indian History Congress*, 1950, pp. 197-201).
2. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (R & B), Vol. I, p. 359.
3. Rieu I, 1034 b.
4. Ethe, nos. 1965, 1968.
5. Ethe, nos. 1967, 1968.
6. Ethe, 1988. Previously two other translations of the work were done in the reign of Akbar. One by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni was prepared with the help of a learned Brahman in 982/1574-75 entitled *Khirad Afza*, (*Muntakhab ul-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 183), Chaturbhujdas b Mihrchand Kayat likewise composed another version of the work in the reign of Akbar and entitled it *Shahnama* ; (Bodleian no. 1324).
7. Ethe, no. 1889.
8. Rieu, II, 763a, Ethe, nos. 1990-1993.

Abbasi Alawi Chishti, a descendant of the saint Ahmad Abdul Haq of Rudauli (*d.* 836 or 837/132-33 or 1433-34) in Bara Banki district of Awadh. Abdur Rahman lived at Dhaniti, a village in the *Sarkar* of Lucknow, and breathed his last there in[1] 1094/1683. He translated with explanatory notes a Sanskrit treatise on Hindu cosmogony in 1041/1631-32 and named it *Mirat ul-Makhluqat.* It is in the form of a dialogue between Mahadeva and Parvati handed down by Muni Bashisht (Vasishtha). Shaikh Abdur Rahman has explained at some length how the Hindu legends were to be adapted to Muslim ideas, how, for instance, Mahadeva was to be taken as a king of the *Jinns,* another mythological being to be turned into Adam, and a third into Muhammad and so forth.[2] In his abridged translation of the *Gita,* entitled *Mirat ul-Haqaiq,* he sought to emphasise the importance of the doctrine of *Hama Ust* throughout the work.[3]

The points of similarity as brought out by Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti may be disputed by the scholars of both the religions but the work distinctly bears the stamp of the spirit of the age in which it was written. The efforts are the continuation of one which are available in Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's *Haqaiq i-Hindi.* None but Dara Shukoh, on account of his vast resources, could surpass him in this direction.

Before venturing to write *Majma ul-Bahrain* or translating the *Upanishads,* Dara Shukoh had come in contact with a number of important Hindu monists. He courageously popularised the teachings and aphorisms of some of them through *Hasnat ul-Arifin,* completed on Sunday 1 Rabi I, 1064/20 January, 1654, twelve years after the completion of *Sakinat ul-Auliya.* The teachings of Kabir, Baba Lal and Baba Pyare have been popularised through this work along with the aphorisms of eminent monists and pantheists of Islam. The characteristic feature of this work is an emphasis on that aspect of Kabir's teachings which seeks to despise as frivolous any distinction drawn between *kufr* and Islam. Dara Shukoh has given with great interest an account of his contemporary Baba Lal, a founder of a minor order 'Baba Lalis' and a follower

1. *Mirat ul-Alam* (Aligarh University Mss.) ; Rieu, III, f. 973a ; Storey, C.A. : *Persian Literature,* Vol. I, Part 2, p. 1005.
2. Rieu, III, 1034a, Bodleian, 1823, Aligarh University Mss. (Abdus Salam Collection); Sotrey : *Persian Literature,* Vol. I, Part 2, p. 1005.
3. Rieu, III, 1034b; (Or 1883) f. 261a.

ای ارجن هرکاریکه کنی ازودانی وهیچکس راشریک نکنی ویقین دانی که همه اوست یعنی
وحده لاشریک له

of the *Bhaktimarg* of Kabir. Baba Lal informed Dara Shukoh, "The *Murshids* (religious preceptors) can be divided into four categories. One category appears like gold which cannot make others of the same kind. The second category resembles alchemy which turns everything else into gold which comes into contact with it. The third is like *Sandal-wood* trees which can endow other trees with the same quality. The fourth resembles a lamp. They can be regarded as perfect *murshids* or guides, for a hundred thousand lamps can be kindled from one lamp."[1] Dara Shukoh expressed the idea in the following verses :—

"The gnostic illumines your body and soul,
Removes thorns from the place and transforms it into a rose garden.
The Perfect takes out all from imperfections,
A candle kindles a thousand candles."[2]

Baba Lal brought home to Dara Shukoh that every religion had its own perfect saints and gnostics, who helped their followers attain salvation. He, therefore, advised him to abstain from disowning or underestimating the achievements of any of the saints, and tendered the advice, "Be not a *Shaikh*, be not a *Wali*, be not a wielder of supernatural powers and miracles ; be rather an independent *Faqir*."[3]

Dara Shukoh held seven long conversations with Baba Lal at Lahore between November 22, 1653 and the middle of December, 1653. The report of the discourses was said to have been formally composed in Hindi and later on rewritten in Persian by Dara Shukoh's *Mir Munshi*, Chandra Bhan Brahman.[4] Such topics as the ascetic life, mystic problems and idol worship etc. figured prominently in the conversation.[5] The questions which Dara Shukoh put to Baba Lal about Hindu mythology reveal his intense desire to satisfy himself regarding the veracity of many problems, *viz*. *Ruyat* or vision of God, etc. which

1. *Hasnat ul-Arifin* (Rampur Mss.), ff. 43a-43b.
2. عارف دل و جان تو مزین سازد   خاری که کند بجاش گلشن سازد
کامل همه راز نقص بیرون آرد   یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد
3. *Ibid.*, f. 44b.
4. Edited by Chiranji Lal (Delhi, 1885), edited by Munshi Bulaqi Das and published with an Urdu translation.
5. Hasrat, p. 247, (Delhi, 1896), published by Malik Chunan ud-Din (Lahore undated) : Text and French Translation (*Journal Asiatique Paris*, Tome CCIX, no. 2).

pressingly disturbed the minds of the Muslim mystics and religious thinkers.

The answers which Dara Shukoh received from Baba Lal regarding *Pancha bhuta* (five elements), *Indriyas* (five senses), relations of *Khaliq* (Creator) with *Makhluq* (created), *Paramatman* (Divine Soul), *Jivatman* (human soul), *Nidra* (sleep), *Mukti* (salvation), and *Mahaprukha* (Perfect Man or *Saintele-unitive*) were fully drawn upon by him in his unique work *Majma ul-Bahrain* which he later on wrote in 1065/1654-55. He says in the preface of the work : "And unlimited benedictions be upon the complete manifestation, the cause of the creation of the universe—Muhammad, may peace be on him and his exalted descendants and great companions. Now thus sayeth this unafflicted, unsorrowing *Faqir*, Muhammad Dara Shukoh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sufis and having been endowed with this great gift (*i.e.* Sufistic inspiration), he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monists and, having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this (*i.e.* Indian) religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth. Consequently having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points—a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth—he (*i.e.* the author) has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma ul-Bahrain* or "The Mingling of the Two Oceans," as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two Truth knowing (*Haq Shinas*) groups."[1]

The work is divided into the following twenty chapters :

1. Five elements (*Anasir* or *Pancha bhuta*)
2. Five senses (*Hawas* or *Pancha Indriya*).
3. Devotional Exercises (*Ashghal*), best being *Ajapa*.
4. Attributes of God, the Most High (*Sifat i-Allah Taala*), Beauty (*Jamal*) and Majesty (*Jalal*) or *Triguna*, (*Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*).

1. Prince Muhammad Dara Shukoh : *Majma ul-Bahrain* Edited and translated in English by M. Mahfuz ul-Haq (Calcutta, 1929), p. 38 : *cf.* Hindi Translation by the present author in the *Journal of National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, January, 1962, Vol. VII, no. 1, pp. 88-152.

5. Soul (*Ruh* and *Abul Arwah* or *Atman* and *Parmatman*).
6. Air (*Bad*, or *Paran*, *Apana*, *Samana*, *Udana* and *Vayana*).
7. Four Worlds (*Awalam i-Arbia*) or four *Avashatman*.
8. Sound (*Awaz* or *Sarasti*).
9. Light (*Nur* or *Jyoti Svarupa*, *Svaprakasa* and *Svapnaprakasa*.)
10. Vision of God (*Ruyat* or *Sakshatkara*).
11. Names of God (*Asmai Allah Taala*) : *Asanga* (?), *Triguna*, *Nirakara*, *Niranjana*, *Sattva*, *Chitt*.
12. Apostleship and saintship (*Nubuwat* and *Wilayat*).
13. *Brahmand* or All (*Kull*).
14. Directions (*Jihat* or *Disah*).
15. Skies (*Asmana* or *Gagana*).
16. Earth (*Zamin* or *Sapta Tala*).
17. Division of the Earth (*Qismat i-Zamin*, *Haft Iqlim* or *Saptadvipa*).
18. State of *Barzakh*,[1] or entry of *Atman* to *Suksma Sarira*.
19. Resurrection (*Qiyamat* or *Pralaya*).
20. Salvation (*Mukti*).
21. Day and Night (*Ruz wa Shab*).
22. Infinity of Cycles (*Adwar*).

Dara Shukoh, in this work, has sought to reconcile Sufism with Vedantic philosophy and in so doing he was not trying his hand at something new. Dara Shukoh's grandfather Jahangir also likened *Vedanta* to the highest form of Sufism and expressed the purport of both in the following verse of Baba Fighani of Shiraz[2] (*d. ca* 922 or 925/ 1516 or 1519.

'There is one lamp in this house, by whose rays,
Wherever I look there is an assembly.'[3]

It is not a polemical work intended to bring out the points of difference between the two religions. The skeleton of the work is, however, Islamic for Prophet Muhammad is depicted as the last of the prophets

1. Interval between the death of a man and resurrection.
2. Ethe, no. 1392.
3. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), Vol. I, p. 359; Vol. II, p. 52.

یک چراغ است درین خانه که از پرتو آن هر طرف می نگرم انجمنی ساخته اند

and the sole cause and motive force behind all the creation.[1] He says, "From *Ishq* (Love), *Ruh i-Azam* (*Jiva atman*), the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muhammad and (further) to the 'complete soul' of the Chief (of the Faithful)—may peace be on him and salutation. And the Indian monists name Him, Hiran Garba (*Hiranyagarbha*) and *Avasthat* (*Avasthatman*), which denote His greatness."[2] The belief in *Miraj* has also been expressed by him most unequivocally.[3] In the discourse on apostleship and saintship,[4] none of the apostles or prophets, who might have risen in India, has been mentioned.[5] No Hindu saints except Baba Lal Bairagi finds a place in the list of Indian saints.[6]

It should, however, be of little concern to estimate its value as a work of scholarship or to project its shortcomings while making a comparative study of the two religions. The thing of paramount importance is the spirit running through this work which sought to stimulate and strengthen the process of peaceful co-existence resulting in emotional integration by purging orthodox dogmas and views from the minds of the people. He did not break any new ground while writing this book nor did he evolve any new theory. He only repeated the same truth which had been told though in different forms, for the past hundred years in India regarding the essential unity of all religions.

Dara Shukoh made one more contribution in 1066/1655-56 to the literature already produced with a view to creating an atmosphere

1. Dara Shukoh : *Majma ul-Bahrain* (English Translation by M. Mahfuz ul-Haq (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 55, 75).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.
5. Dara Shukoh has himself pointed out in the preface to his translation of the *Upanishads*: "And it can also be ascertained from the holy *Quran*, that there is no nation without a prophet and without a revealed scripture, for it hath been said: 'Nor do We chastise until we raise an apostle" (*Quran* XVII, 15). And in another verse : 'And there is not a people but a warner has gone among them' (*Quran* XXXV, 24). And at another place: 'Certainly We sent Our apostles wth clear arguments, and sent down with them the Book and the measure' (*Quran* : LVII, 2)." (Hasrat, p. 266).
6. *Majma ul-Bahrain*, p. 57. He says, "In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid Shah Mir, my teacher Miyan Bari, my *Murshid* Mulla Shah; Shah Muhammad Dilruba, Shaikh Taiyib Sirhindi, and Baba Lal Bairagi."

conducive to the emotional integration of Hindus and Muslims and helpful in a better understanding of Hindu mythology and beliefs. It was in the form of the translation of *Yoga Vasishta*[1] which was undertaken at his behest though the earlier versions of the work were also available. The last and the best of Dara Shukoh's works is *Sirr i-Akbar*[2] (the Great secret) or the Persian translation of fifty two *Upanishads* which he completed in six months in[3] 1067/1656-57[4]. It is divided into the following sections :—

1. Preface
2. A list of the *Upanishads* translated
3. A Glossary of Sanskrit-Persian terms
4. The translation of the *Upanishads* in four parts

Book I — Three *Upanishads* from the *Rig Veda*
Book II — Twelve *Upanishads* from the *Yajur Veda*
Book III — One *Upanishad* from the *Sama Veda*
Book IV — Thirty -six *Upanishads* from the *Atharva Veda*.

5. The End.[4]

1. According to V. Mitra, "*Yoga Vasishta* is the earliest work on *Yoga* or speculative and abstruse philosophy delivered by the venerable sage Vasishta to his royal pupil Rama. It embodies the *Loci communes* or common place relating to the sciences of ontology—the knowledge of *sat*, real entity ; the *asat*, unreal non-entity; the principles of Psychology or doctrines of passions and feelings upon other cognitious, volitious and other faculties of mind and the tenets of ethics and practical morality all derived from Platonic dialogues between the sages and tending to the main enquiry concerning the true felicity, final beatitude or *summum bonum* of all true philosophy." V. Mitra : *Indian Literature*, p. 239.

2. Dr. Qanungo says, "A more suitable title for the *Upanishads* in their Persian garb can hardly be imagined than the Great Secret or Secret of Secrets, both being very suggestive of the nature of their contents, which the Aryan sages always held गुह्याद्गुह्यतमः (The greatest of all secrets)." (*Dara Shukoh*, p. 108).

3. According to the India Office manuscript (Ethe, 1976) it was completed on 29 Ramazan, 1067/11 July, 1657.

4. Bodleian Mss. 1329-1331, Rieu, I, 54, W. Pertsch : *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 1022 (2), Library of King's College, Cambridge, no.217; Latin Translation with notes by Anquetil Duperron :*Qupnekhat id Est Secretum Tegendum* 1801, Vol. I, p. 513. The number of *Upanishads* differ from manuscript to manuscript. Different collections of Aligarh University comprise a number of manuscripts of this work. Dr. Tara Chand has published the entire work from Iran. Also *cf.* Weber: History of Indian Literature, p. 153 ; Barth, *Religions in India*, p. 65 ; Hasrat, pp. 254-292.

The translation was done by Dara Shukoh, as he himself claimed, with the help of a team of learned *Pandits* and *Sanyasis* of Banaras with no worldly motive at all. The Prince tried only to conform to the original as literally and closely as could be possible. Only at few places, where the involved sentences and subtle philosophical ideas of the original could not be rendered in intelligible Persian, he has followed Shankracharya's commentary.[1] He was imbued with an intense desire to satisfy his unquenchable thirst for enquiring into *Tauhid* (monism) which could not be satisfied through any other source but by the word of the Almighty. He sought this satisfaction from the *Quran*, believed to be the word of God. But in the absence of persons capable of explaining the subtleties and allegorical expressions of the *Quran* and its varied and involved commentaries, his thirst remained unsatisfied. So, with a view to seeking the truth of the expressions regarding *Tauhid* in the *Quran*, he turned to other words of God *viz.* the *Book of Moses*, the *Gospels*, the *Psalms* and other scriptures, for it was his view that the words of God, if not clear in one sacred text, could be followed with the help of other sacred texts.

Sanskrit, Syriac, Hebrew and Arabic were to Dara Shukoh, only the different media employed by the Divine Being for the expression of the truth of monism. The difference did not lie in the essence of the Truth but it was only that of time and place where they were revealed. They did not contradict each other, rather one explained what was ambiguous in the other. The *Upanishads* were however of superb value on account of their being ancient and earliest of all the divine words. He considered them to be in conformity with the *Quran*, and found the following verse applicable to these ancient books. "Most surely it is an honoured *Quran* ; in a book that is protected. None shall touch it save the purified ones. A revelation by the Lord of the worlds."[2]

The work (*Sirr i-Akbar*) begins with the praise of Almighty drawn from the commentary of the dot of '*Be*' of '*Bismillah*' which is most appropriate as the original deals with the "Great Secret". Before commencing the work he took an augury from the pages of the *Quran* and sought the blessings of the Almighty upon the "Best of His

1. *cf.* translation of the *Mundaka Upanishad.*
2. *Quran* LVI, 77-80.

creatures, Muhammad, and upon all his children and upon his companions universally, in the traditional manner. Profiting from *Mirat ul-Makhluqat* of Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti, Dara Shukoh has discovered better and more appropriate equivalents for Hindu deities and technical terms to make the translation more intelligible and useful to the Muslims. Some of these have been interpreted thus :

Mahadeva	as Israfil
Vishnu	as Mikail
Brahman	as Jibrail
Brahma Loka	as *Alam i-Zat*
Akasvani	as *Wahi*
Pranayam	as *Habs i-Nafs*
Om or *Vedamukh*	as *Ism i-Azam*
Om naman	as *Hu Allah*
Mahapralaya	as *Qiyamat i-Kubra*.[1]

The translation was intended mainly for the spiritual benefit of his own self, his children, his friends and the seekers of truth. It was again the sincerity of Dara Shukoh in his quest of the truth of monism as revealed from this translation, which prompted him to go through the *Book of Moses*, the *Gospels*, the *Psalms* and lastly the *Upanishads*. He has criticised the Brahmans and *Pandits* of his own age more than anyone else for their utter ignorance of the subtleties of monism which were available in the divine works of their own religion.[2]

AURANGZEB AND FORCES OF LIBERALISM.

The new wave of emotional integration along with its resultant process of cultural fusion, commenced in Shah Jahan's reign, was unable to gain momentum due to a sudden change in the political conditions of the country ; rather, it received a temporary set-back. The political horizon of the country was darkened by the clouds of the war of succession for the Mughul throne subsequent to the serious illness of Emperor Shah Jahan in Sept. 1657, not without adverse effects on the process of cultural rapprochement between the different religious groups of the country. Dara Shukoh, being the eldest son of Shah Jahan and

1. Hasrat, pp. 259, 288-292.
2. Preface to *Sirr i-Akbar* (Hasrat, p. 261).

enjoying immense popularity among the Indians,[1] was the natural choice for the throne ; but his other three brothers—Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad—disputed his claim. He was, therefore, compelled to have recourse to arms to defend his right to the throne and the inevitable result was a fierce war of succession. Unfortunately for Dara, he lacked a strong will and capacity for organisation. He was no match to the superior military genius and organising capacity of Aurangzeb. Pitted against an adversary, who possessed an indomitable courage, strong will power and perseverance, Dara's poor chances in the war were a foregone conclusion. Aurangzeb emerged victorious after inflicting repeated defeats on Dara, first at Samugarh near Agra on 8 June 1658 and then at Deorai (near Ajmer) on 23 March, 1659. Dara was captured after suffering many miseries and privations and was beheaded on 21 Zilhijja, 1069/9 Sept., 1659.

The charge-sheet against him reproduced by the official historian Muhammad Kazim seeks to explain his crime as follows : "Dara Shukoh in his later days on account of his misfortune and inauspiciousness did not confine himself to infidelity and heresy alone, which were inherent in his nature and which he had named *Tasawwuf*, but also showed an inclination towards the religion of the Hindus and institutions of those accursed ones. He was constantly in the society of Brahmins, *Jogis* and *Sanyasis* and used to regard this crowd of prevaricators, misguided ones and worthless fellows as perfect guides and *Arif* who had reached God.[2] He considered their books which they call as *Bed* (*Veda*) as being divine, and the word of God, revealed from heaven and the most ancient and venerable books. Under such misbelief and delusion about the worthless *Beda*, he collected Brahmans and *Sanyasis* from all parts of the country with great efforts, and paying them great attention and care, he employed them in translating the

1. Fear of strong agitation in Delhi was one of the main reasons for his hasty execution when brought under arrest in Delhi. [Muhammad Kazim: *Alamgir Nama* (*Bib. Ind.*) p. 432.]

2. Aurangzeb according to Abul Fazl Mamuri's continuation of Sadiq Khan's *Tarikh i-Shahjahani*, a near contemporary work, met Shaikh Burhan Shattari of Burhanpur while marching towards Agra to participate in the war of succession. During this meeting Aurangzeb gave expression, in the form of complaints, to the grievances he had against Dara. He is reported to have remarked, "Dara Shukoh has gone astray from the path of Islam and has stepped on to the desert of aberration. Following in the footsteps of *Mulhids* who abandon the obligatory duties enjoined by God, he has defamed *Tasawwuf* and calls *Kufr*

Bed. He spent all his time in this unholy work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books. Instead of the sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindawi name 'Prabhu' which the Hindus consider as *Ism i-Azam*[1] and he had this name engraved in Hindi letters on the diamonds of his seal ring, rubies and emeralds etc.... It became manifest that if he obtained the throne and established supreme power and authority, the pillars of the exalted *Shariat* would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism."[2]

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing pages that Hindi words and Hindu devotional songs were the very breath of the Sufis. Even Mujaddid Alf i-Sani in his last days constantly recited the Hindi verse which set forth the joy of the union with the Beloved[3] and the *Kalima* was translated in Sanskrit under no less a man than Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi for his coins. In the context, the charges brought against Dara appear too flimsy and frivolous to be given any credence. The slogan of strengthening the *Din i-Matin*[4] and propagating *Shara i-Saiyid ul-Mursalin*,[5] which Aurangzeb raised and which the chroniclers of his reign enthusiastically publicised was as hollow as

and Islam twin brothers. He has compiled a treatise entitled *Majma ul-Bahrain* on this subject. He has deprived our revered father of authority in administrative matters. He has girt his loins to destroy the Muslims and to carry on with his erroneous mission. I beseech you to recite *Fatiha* for the eradication of his mischief."

التماس نمودند که داراشکوه ازدین اسلام برگشته و قدم دربادیه ضلالت گذاشته است بتقلید ملحدان که تارک فرض الهي اند تصوف را بدنام نموده کفرواسلام رابرادر توام خوانده درین رساله مجموع البحرین (مجمع البحرین) تالیف نموده پدربزرگوار ازسلطنت بي اختیار نموده کمربراراده باطل وقتل مسلمانان بسته امید وارم که براي دفع شر اوفاتحه بخوانند

Abul Fazl Mamuri : Continuation of Sadiq Khan's *Tarikh i-Shahjahani* B.M.Mss. Or 1671, f. 96b, Riza Library, Rampur (no. 2093), p. 333.

1. The Great name of God, which is not known to anyone.
2. Muhammad Kazim: *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 34-35.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 287. آج ملاوا کنت سون سکهي سبه جگ دیئون وار
4. Firm faith *i e.* Islamic religion.
5. Law of the Prophet *i. e.* Islamic Law. (Aqil Khan Razi : *Waqiat i-Alamgiri*, Aligarh, 1945, p. 120 ; Muhammad Kzim : *Alamgir Nama*, p. 35).

the similar phrases of Mutamad Khan used for Akbar[1] and those of other chroniclers used for all licentious and dissolute Muslim monarchs of the middle ages. A shrewd monarch as Aurangzeb was, he could not afford to override the pressing demands of the political exigencies. His astute sense had dictated to him that in order to have his way to the throne he must enlist the support of the Rajputs, for, an open avowal on his part to adhere to the orthodox laws of Sunni theology would have scared away the brave Rajputs and might have driven all of them to the camp of Dara. So he swore to the Rajputs that he would act as a secular and benevolent ruler if they would help him ascend the throne.[2]

Aurangzeb's rule was not blind or hostile to the liberalism or to the study of Indian sciences and arts including music for they were studied in his reign too and the nobles and princes extended their patronage to them considering their study conducive to the growth of the spirit of cultural rapprochement. Mirza Muhammad b. Fakhr ud-Din Muhammad, at the request of Kukultash Khan,[3] composed for Aurangzeb's grand son, Prince Muhammad Muizz ud-Din Jahandar Shah, the encyclopaedic work on fine arts and sciences of the Hindus in the reign of Aurangzeb entitled *Tuhfat ul-Hind.*[4] The work manifests a very wide range of study and understanding of Sanskrit, grammar, prosody, figures of speech, music and physiognomy on the part of the author. It is divided into the following seven chapters with an introduction and a conclusion.

Introduction	The Indian System of Writing
Chapter I	Prosody of the Indians
Chapter II	Rhyme system of the Indians

1. Mutamad Khan: *Iqbal Nama i-Jahangiri* (Nawal Kishore edition, Vol. I, pp. 1-2).
2. Dr. M. Athar Ali in his paper on the Religious issue in the War of Succession 1658-59, has on the basis of statistics, conclusively proved, that the nobles were not actually divided in their loyalties to the contending princes on religious, racial or sectarian lines. (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 80-87). The folowing remarks of Prof. W.C. Smith are, however, baseless: "For Awrangzeb came to the throne instead of Dara Shikuh in considerable part because a large portion of the *Mansabdars* chose to support him; that is, to support neo-classicism rather than liberalism." The Ulama in Indian Politics, published in C. H. Philips : *Politics and Society in India*, (London, 1963), p. 45.
3. His name was Ali Murad, and was the foster-brother of Jahandar Shah. In the reign of Jahandar Shah (1712-13) he obtained the rank of 9,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Sawar* with the title of Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang, and the office of Chief Bakhshi (*Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp.817 819).
4. Ethe, 2011: Aligarh University Mss,

Chapter III	Indian tropes and figures of speech
Chapter IV	*Sringararasa* and the love of Indians and lovers
Chapter V	Indian music
Chapter VI	Sexual intercourse (*Kok*)
Chapter VII	Physiognomy (*Samudrika*)
Conclusion	Terminology of Indians.

Even the works on Indian music[1] were not neglected and Mirza Raushan Zamir,[2] the author of *Makhzan ul-Gharaib*, wrote the Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Indian music, styled *Parijatica* (belonging to the *Parijata* or tree of paradise) in Aurangzeb's reign.[3]

It thus becomes abundantly clear that Dara's religious opinions and practices were made only a pretext to remove him from the political scene. If Dara was mercilessly beheaded, it was less on account of his liberal religious attitude than on account of the political ambitions of Aurangzeb himself. Likewise, the pantheists who were close associates of Dara Shukoh had mostly to suffer not for their religious views but owing to their friendship with the unfortunate Prince.

1. In the early part of his reign Aurangzeb not only occasionally found delight in listening to music but also had an expert knowledge of the subtleties of this art. Mustaid Khan says, "All the agents of pleasure and entertainment, such as sweet-voiced singers or charming players on musical instruments, were gathered in large numbers round his throne, and in the first few years of his reign he occasionally listened to their music and had a perfect expert's knowledge of this art." Mirza Mukarram Khan Safawi, who was expert in the musical art, once said to Aurangzeb, "What is Your Majesty's view about music?' The Emperor answered (in Arabic), 'It is *mubah* (being attended neither with praise nor blame).' The Khan asked, 'Then what kind of it is in your opinion most worthy to be heard?' The Emperor replied, 'I cannot listen to music without *Mazamir* (instruments) specially *Pakhawaj*, but that is unanimously *Haram* (unlawful), so I have given up the hearing of the vocal too." (*Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 527-528.)

2. He was an eminent scholar and linguist. He had a profound knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and excelled all the great musicians of his age in the knowledge of music. It is said that he had visited fourteen thousand noted musicians of his age and had composed some works in musical modes of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He was appointed *Waqia Nigar* and *Bakhshi* of Surat by Emperor Aurangzeb but died shortly after taking up this assignment in 1067/1656-57. (*Mirat ul-Khayal*, p. 228).

3. Ethe, 2009.

Mulla Shah was summoned from Kashmir after the execution of Dara Shukoh. Though quite reluctant to leave Kashmir, he was forced by the governor of the province to go to Delhi. Mulla Shah composed the following chronogram of the accession of Aurangzeb in a *rubai* while on his way to Delhi and sent it to the Emperor.

'The court-yard of my heart blossomed like a sun-flower,
That brought the truth and swept away the dust of falsehood ;
The chronogram of the accession of the Emperor possessing the knowledge of truth,
Composed *Zill ul-Haq* (shadow of God) ; verily it is a composition, based on truth.

This *rubai* elicited the following remark from Sher Khan Lodi, who was hostile to all those who believed in the principle of peace with all and the associates of Dara Shukoh : "No other proof better than this can be produced regarding Mulla Shah's erudition and rhetoric, for if examined minutely, it would appear that the entire *rubai* has been composed by him in his own praise." Aurangzeb must have taken cognizance of the fact that Mulla Shah's utterances and works were not without precedent in the annals of Sufism and so the orthodox could find no fault with them. Aurangzeb, however, could do nothing beyond banning his entry into Delhi and ordering him to reside at Lahore. He died there in[1] 1072/1661-62.

Sarmad, a close associate of Dara Shukoh, embraced death most courageously and immortalised the principles which he, Dara Shukoh and other monists, pantheists and the protagonists of "peace with all," had raised to the pinnacle of popularity. The contemporary chroniclers sought to defend the death sentence on the score of orthodoxy but that flimsy mask could not hide the real motive behind it for long. The charge against him according to Aqil Khan Razi was his nudity.[2]

1. Sher Khan Lodi : *Mirat ul-Khayal*, pp. 200-201.
2. Aqil Khan Razi says, "Sarmad who had been overcome by his love for a Hindu boy and lived by his misfortune in a wretched manner, was deprived of the garment of life in accordance with the *Fatwa* (judgment) of the scholars of the *Shariat* for his nakedness and refusal to cover even the private parts of his body, which it is forbidden to expose. He placed his head before the executioner without any hesitation and sorrow in accordance with the verse :—

   If the swords rain the love of that moon,
   I bow my head : order is for God.

Sher Khan Lodi, in *Mirat ul-Khayal*, completed by him in 1102/1690-91, has, on the basis of the following *rubai* of Sarmad, accused him of yet another serious lapse on his part, *viz.* disbelieving in the *Miraj* or physical ascent of Prophet Muhammad to the heavens.

He who believed in the secret of esoteric doctrine,

Became more expanded than the expanded heavens.

The Mulla says that Ahmad went up to heaven,

Sarmad says that heaven came down unto Ahmad.[1]

Ali Quli Waleh Daghastani has added another charge to the charge-sheet against Sarmad on the authority of Khalifa Ibrahim Badakhshani who led a pious life towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign. He says, "Sarmad was summoned and examined by the Council, in which the Emperor himself was present. Of the Muhammadan creed '*La-ilaha illallah*' (There is no God but God) Sarmad used to utter only the first or the negative part '*La Ilaha*' (There is no God), and would not utter the second or the positive part of it '*illallah*' (but God). He was asked the reason for this. He said, 'I am absorbed only in the negative and have not come up to the positive. Why shall I tell a lie'?[2]" Shah Nawaz Khan has hit the mark while making the observation that, "To speak the truth, Sarmad was put to death mainly because of his companionship with Dara Shukoh, otherwise every lane and street was swarming with thousands of naked *Majzubs*."[3] A different story is told about what actually hastened the execution of Sarmad. The latter's stark nudity was abominable in the extreme to Aurangzeb. He, therefore, despatched Itmad Khan Shaikh Abdul Qawi to persuade Sarmad to desist from that absurdity. Shaikh Abdul Qawi, in obedience to the imperial order, asked Sarmad to hide his private parts ; the latter, far from agreeing to his request, sarcastically retorted, "Satan is *Qawi* (powerful)." Shaikh Abdul Qawi could not

Waqiat i-Alamgiri (Aligarh, 1945), pp. 121-122; English Translation by Maulawi Haji Zafar Hasan, p. 46.

1. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, p. 217.
2. *Riyaz ush-Shuara*, (Lucknow University Mss.), f. 172a ; Maulavi Abdul Wali Khan Sahib : A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad (*JASB*, 1924, p. 114)
3. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 227; Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Vol. I, p. 45.

stand this retort, and seems to have reported very adversely against him.[1]

The way in which Sarmad faced his death was still more dramatic. Aqil Khan Razi says, "With his last breath he sang:

"The nakedness of the body was the dust of the road of the Friend,

That too was severed, with the sword, from our head'."[2]

Sarmad was taken to the place of execution. The executioner approached to cover his eyes according to the custom. But Sarmad wished him do it not, and casting a look at the executioner smilingly said, "Come in whatever garb you choose, I recognise you well," and recited the following verse :—

"There was an uproar and we opened our eyes from the eternal Sleep,

Saw that the night of wickedness endured, so slept again."

Without any visible signs of nervousness or fear , he courageously placed

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 226. When he was brought, the Mulla said "Why are you naked?' Sarmad repeated, "Satan is powerful شیطان قوي است" He cited the following quatrain :

'A lovely height (figure) has made me so low,
A *two cupped eye* has taken me out of hands,
He is in my arm-pit, and I in quest of him,
A wondrous thief has made me naked'.
(*Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p 226).

It is said that during the war of succession Sarmad had predicted Dara's victory and ascendancy to kingship. When he was brought before the Emperor, the latter pointed out to him that his prediction regarding Dara Shukoh's succession had turned out incorrect. Sarmad replied, "God has given him the eternal sovereignty and my promise is not falsified." (*Riyaz ush-Shuara*, *JASB* 1924, p. 116) Nicolao Manucci says, "After the death of his brother, Dara, Aurangzeb ordered them to bring to his presence Acermaad (Sarmad), the atheist, to whom Dara had been devoted, and asked him where his devoted prince was. He replied that he was then present, 'but you cannot see him, for you tyrannize over those of your own blood ; and in order to usurp the kingdom you took away the life of your brother, and did other barbarities.' On hearing these words, Aurangzib ordered his head to be cut off." [William Irvine : *Storia De Mogor* (1907), p. 384.]

2. *Waqiat i-Alamgiri*, pp. 121-122.

his head under the sword and gave up his life (1071/1660-61).[1] He was soon made a legendary figure and acquired an honourable place in the folds of Muslim orthodoxy. Ali Quli Waleh Daghastani mentions, on the authority of Khalifa Ibrahim Badakhshani, that although Sarmad never recited the whole of *Kalima i-Taiyaba* in his life yet after his execution people heard his severed head reciting the whole of the *Kalima.*[2] Mythical anecdotes were associated with a number of his *rubais* and his verses continued to be eagerly sought, sung and preserved. He came to occupy the same rank which Mansur Hallaj and Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul possessed. It must have been an eye-opener to Aurangzeb and the sudden change in his attitude towards Nimatullah Qadri of Narnaul, an eminent saint of strong pentheistic tendencies and humanitarian outlook, who had settled in Raj Mahal (known as Akbar Nagar in Bengal), may perhaps be traced to the effect which Sarmad's death and the popular sentiments evoked by it exercised on the mind of the Emperor.

Shaikh Nimatullah was the preceptor of Shah Shuja and his son and nobles had also become the disciples of the saint. After the defeat of Shah Shuja[3] orders were sent to Muazzam Khan, *Subedar* of Bengal, to send Shaikh Nimatullah to court. By then the Shaikh had become crippled. His sons were greatly harassed by the Governor but the Shaikh was not at all moved. He told them, "The Almighty has made me a cripple so that I may not be able to go to the doors of rich people." This reply of the Shaikh afforded the *Subedar's* men no satisfaction at all. The *Chaushs* (sergeants of the *Subedar*) were only hardened into their rough attitude and behaviour towards his sons. Every time his sons approached him, he would tell them, "Delhi is still very far." An unencouraging reply from their father coupled with the tyrannies perpetrated upon them by the *Subedar's* men exhausted the patience of Shaikh Nimatullah's sons. So one day they loaded

1. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, p. 217. One Shah Asadullah, a companion of Sarmad, is said to have gone to the latter and told him: "Do cover your nakedness and utter the creed in full, and you would be let off." Sarmad looked up, and in reply uttered the following couplet :

   "A long time since the fame of Mansur became an ancient relic,
   I will exhibit with my head the gallow and cord."

   (A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad, *J. A. S.B.*, 1924, pp. 115-116).
2. *Riyaz ush-Shuara*, (Lucknow University Mss. f. 172).
3. Apparently after his finally leaving Bengal (6th May, 1660).

their household effects on a boat and went to their father to request him to accompany them or allow them to depart. The Saint smiled and repeated his oft-quoted maxim, "Delhi is still very far." Meanwhile the Shaikh received a *Farman* from the Emperor directing him to stay where he was. A change then overtook the Emperor and he became so enamoured of the Saint that he began to write letters on intricate points of Sufism to him.[1]

The pantheists and the Sufis of liberal and eclectic views continued to wield immense influence during the long reign of Aurangzeb too. Most prominent was Shaikh Burhan Shattari of Burhanpur whose blessings Aurangzeb eagerly craved while leaving for the north to fight against Dara Shukoh. Shaikh Burhan Shattari was a disciple of Shaikh Isa, whom he served with great humility and devotion. The musical parties of Sufis and their *sama* would transport him into a state of unprecedented joy and ecstasy. He had intimate relations with all and sundry of every religion and had among his devotees people of all castes and creeds.

Since Shaikh Burhan had no liking for personal visits to the rulers, Aurangzeb approached him incognito in the night and sat like the common people in the crowd. The Shaikh, seeing a new comer there, enquired his name. "Aurangzeb", replied the Prince. Shaikh neither spoke to him further nor gave him a gift. Next day when he again went to the Shaikh, the latter remarked, "If this house is to your liking, let me know it frankly so that I may find some other place for myself." Aurangzeb then approached the favourite servant of the Shaikh, Ma Lalu who used to provide water for the Shaikh's *wazu*. The Shaikh, after consulting Shaikh Nizam, allowed Aurangzeb to see him at the doors of the *khanqah* while going out for *Namaz*. Thus standing he was allowed to request for the *Fatiha* of farewell. Aurangzeb reached the doors of Shaikh's *khanqah* with Shaikh Nizam, (who acted as principal intermediary in arranging the interview), Shaikh Mir and Mir Miran just when Shaikh Burhan was going out for prayers. Aurangzeb complained about Dara Shukoh's unscrupulousness in religious matters while reiterating his devotion to the laws of the Prophet's religion and his anxiety for the welfare of his subjects;[2] he requested him to recite *Fatiha* for his help and to bestow his favour on him. Shaikh replied,

1. *Mirat ul-Khayal*, pp. 218-220.

2. *cf.* Details of Aurangzeb's complaint, *Supra*, p. 363.

"The *Fatiha* of insignificant *Faqirs* like us can serve no purpose. You are a king. You should recite *Fatiha* with unsullied intentions, and with a will to do justice and to cherish the people. We also raise our hands." Shaikh Nizam in a low voice congratulated him on his kingship.[1]

1. ازفاتحهٔ مافقیران کم اعتبار چه مي شود ـ شما که بادشاهیر به نیت خیر و عدالت
ورعیت پروری فاتحه بخوانید

(*Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 554).

During the course of the main narrative of the events of Aurangzeb's reaching Burhanpur and paying a visit to the Shaikh, almost the same words, said to have been uttered by the Shaikh, are repeated by the author.

ازفاتحهٔ مافقیران چه حاصل ـ شما که پادشاه اید فاتحه بقصد عدالت ورعیت پروری
بخوانید ماهم برفاقت شما دست بدعا و فاتحه بر مي داریم

(*Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 11).

The reply of Shaikh Burhan does not by any stretch of the imagination show that he had become convinced of the religious character of the struggle, as certain modern scholars, seek to explain. He had consented to see the Emperor in a most formal manner on the persuasions of his favourites. It was the Emperor who raised the religious issue in his conversation but the Shaikh did not in any way commit himself. He blessed him in the same strain as Khawand Mahmud had blessed Prince Khusrau. (*Supra* p. 183). Shaikh's advice to Aurangzeb was not much different from that which Miyan Mir gave to Shah Jahan or the saint of Bari or Shaikh Muhibbullah to Dara Shukoh *viz.* he was to do justice and cherish his subjects, even though Aurangzeb had initiated the conversation with a communal bias. Shaikh Burhan's reply, studied in this context fully brings out his humanitarian outlook and his belief in the fact that political matters should be divorced of religious considerations. The Shaikh's remarks as reproduced by Abul Fazl Mamuri confirm the above view even more strongly.

شیخ که درآن وقت برای نماز از خانه بر آمده بود استاده ملاقات شاهزاده نمود - راضي
بهٔنشستن نه گسته جواب داد که در آنچه رضای خالق وخیریت خلق الله باشد ازخدا مسالت
خواهم نمود وشیخ نظام که ازمقربان همراه بادشاه دشمن گداز ؟ گنهٔمی شد وواسطه ملاقات
شدهبودزبان بمبارکباد بادشاه کشوده اشارت بدست برداشتن فاتحه نمود

Abul Fazl Mamuri: Cotinuation of Sadiq Khan's *Tarikh i-Shahjahani* (British Museum Mss. Or. 1671, f. 96b, Rampur Mss. p. 333). It must be noted that Shaikh Burhan was a Shattari and a great believer in *Dawat i-Isma* which Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, Mujaddid and his successors unequivocally condemned.

No predictions were made by Shaikh Burhan. Aurangzeb was only asked to pray with pious intentions. Such prayers were not uncommon and the soldiers fully

Some of Shaikh Burhan's disciples were so immensely devoted to him and the atmosphere around him was so reverberating with pantheism that they in their ecstatic state would not hesitate in calling him God, though the Shaikh did not approve of their action. When his admonitions failed to have any effect on them, he sent them to the *Qazi* with the request to deal with them in accordance with the *Shara*. The *Qazi* imprisoned them. But when even this step did not induce them to recant, they were all beheaded.[1]

Other Sufis who had a considerable influence over the Muslims in Aurangzeb's reign were the monists and pantheists with a deeply humanitarian outlook. The sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah were pantheists ; their disciples were also most enthusiastic in their pantheistic beliefs. Shah Abdur Rahim (*d.* 12 Safar, 1131/4 January, 1719), father of Shah Waliullah Dehlawi, a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah's son Khwaja Khurd, in his devotions to the teachings and works of Shaikh Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi had, like Shaikh Aman Panipati[2] no hesitation in declaring that he could deliver public lectures on *Fusus ul-Hikam*, could prove the truth of its content on the basis of the *Quran* and *Hadis* and satisfy everyone with his discourse[3]. He had instilled a taste for the study of works relating to *Wahdat ul-Wujud* in Shah Waliullah and taught him *Lawaih*, *Sharh i-Rubaiyat* and *Muqaddama* on *Sharh i-Lamat* thoroughly. Shah Waliullah attended some of his father's lectures on the advanced teachings of Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi.

His elder brother, Abur Riza Muhammad, a saint of strong pantheistic[4] beliefs, appears to have possessed considerable influence over

knew that they did not matter much. It is ridiculous to think that Aurangzeb's soldiers received moral strength on account of the prayers of Shaikh Burhan Shattari, a pantheist, while Dara Shukoh's discipleship and devotion to a large number of saints could not hearten the followers of the Prince. It was, however, not Shaikh Burhan who predicted victory but it was Shaikh Nizam who congratulated Aurangzeb for kingship.

1. *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 555.
2. *Supra*, p. 150.
3. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 82
4. One Mulla Yaqub went to him determined to convince him regarding the frivolity of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* but when he reached him, not even a single word could issue forth his lips ; and so he quietly turned back. When people enquired the reason for not having discussed the matter with him, he told them that he

his contemporaries. The difference in the worldly status of men had no meaning in his eyes ; he treated the rich and poor alike. For he did not allow even Aurangzeb to see him despite the latter's entreaties.[1] His letters to Shaikh Abdul Ahad, a grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, seek to convince him regarding the superiority of *Wahdat ul-Wujud.* An interesting aspect of the correspondence is the profuse use of Hindi *Dohas* of *Bhakti* by both to explain their respective view-points. The discussion in some letters has been concentrated on the explanation of the real significance of Hindi *Dohas*[2] in Arabic.

Saiyid Sadullah grandson of Shaikh Pir Muhammad of the eastern part of India had settled in Surat in a *haveli* provided him by Aurangzeb and drew a considerable amount in the form of *Madad i-Maash.* He would recommend to the Emperor for favourable treatment everyone who sought his help. The Emperor used to write replies to him personally. The Saint took full advantage of this intimacy with the Emperor and felt no hesitation in recommending to him even criminals though the Emperor reproved him more than once for such recommendations. The Saiyid once addressed one of his Hindu devotees, Har Rai, as follows :

'In the name of the one who hath no name,

With whatever name thou calleth him, He uplifteth his head.'[3]

When the theologians criticised him, he unhesitatingly said, "But for the sacred Being of the Almighty which is self-existent, I consider every other object to be non-existent."[4]

could not open his lips in his presence. (*Anfas ul-Arifin,* p. 96). *cf.* Exposition of doctrine of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* by Shaikh Abur Riza. (*Anfas ul-Arifin,* pp. 96-124).

1. *Anfas ul-Arifin,* p. 90. At the time of the uprising of the *Satnamis* (1672) which had taken an ugly turn, Shaikh Abur Riza allegedly predicted the victory of the imperial forces. Because of their extreme confidence in the Shaikh, the people of Delhi gave utmost credence to his predictions, so much so that they identified it with actual victory and spread the rumour of the success of imperial forces long before it could be conveyed by the intelligence department of the Emperor to him. (*Anfas ul-Arifin,* p. 90).
2. *Anfas ul-Arifin,* pp. 123-148.
3. بنام آنکه او نامی ندارد بهر نامش که خوانی سر برآرد
4. *Muntakhab ul-Lubab,* Vol. II, pp. 559-561.

Shaikh Bayizid was another saint who drew to himself followers and lovers of all religions. They thronged to him to beseech his blessings and he did his best to help them all. He did not spare even Aurangzeb who claimed to be a staunch follower of the *Shara* and the preachings of Prophet Muhammad, but did not get his daughters married though Prophet Muhammad had married his daughter. He took his courage in his hands and publicly criticised the Emperor in the Jama Masjid of Delhi for this lapse.[1] Shaikh Muhammad Waris, who always ungrudgingly helped the people, was a great miracle-monger. He was visited by the Emperor several times.[2] Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa would not allow the rich people and high officials to approach him and always kept himself busy in ascetic exercises. He stood unsurpassed in his knowledge of *Tafsir* and was regarded a "compendium of perfection."[3] Likewise, Mir Nasir ud-Din Harawi, who was a cripple, earned his livelihood by transcribing the *Quran*, commentaries and other works of mysticism. He too had a strong abhorrence for the rich and tyrannical officials and not only refused to admit them to his assemblies but would even turn them out using a harsh language. He enjoyed a grant of *Madad i-Maash* from the Emperor.[4] Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi started the movement of the revival of the influence of the Chishtis at Delhi in the later part of Aurangzeb's reign. While he himself preached in Delhi he had deputed Shah Nizam ud-Din Aurangabadi (*d.* 1142/1730) to the Deccan,who freely moved into the imperial camp and subsequently settled in Aurangabad. He was commissioned by his preceptor to attract the Turanis to his side at all costs, even if he was required to enrol them to the Naqshbandi order in deference to their wishes.[5] He was advised to base his activities on the principles of "peace with all".[6] Some Hindus and Shias were also attracted towards his teachings.[7] In order to avoid conflict he was advised that the *sama* gatherings should be temporarily postponed[8] in accordance with the exigencies of the situation.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 551-552 (Mihr un-Nisa and Zubdat un-Nisa were, however, given away in marriage.)
2. *Ibid.*, p. 551.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 551.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553.
5. *Maktubat i-Kalimi*, (Delhi n. d.), pp. 11,19, 22, 40, 57, 75, 78.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 9, 24, 74.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 74, 76.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 45, 55.

Aurangzeb's strict observance of the *Shara*, piety and vigils have earned for him the title of *Zinda Pir* (living saint) but he himself appears to have been more inclined towards pantheism. The works which he constantly used, were not those of the *Shuhudis* or of Mujaddid and his disciples but the collection of letters of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari.[1] At Gulbarga, Aurangzeb paid a visit to a saint in 1686-87, apparently a spiritual descendant of Gesu Daraz who was leading a retired life and remained occupied in conversation with him for some time.[2] In 1691-92 he sent gifts to Saiyid Muhammad and Saiyid Jalal, the successors of Shah Alam, who lie buried in Ahmadabad.[3] Shah Kalimullah, however, did not attach much importance to the humility which the Emperor exhibited towards *Darweshes*.[4] He accused him of hypocrisy and declared that he was presumptuous as he tried to combine the *Saltanat* with the *Faqiri*. He consequently paid little attention to the Emperor's respect for the *Shariat*.[5] However, the estimate of Aurangzeb by Shah Kalimullah seems to be unobjective. The Emperor had a genuine respect for the Sufis and only such monists and pantheists were persecuted by him as, unfortunately for them, were intimately associated with Dara Shukoh. Had Aurangzeb not contested for the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan, he would have been as good and respectful towards Mulla Shah or Shah Muhibbullah of Allahabad as Dara Shukoh was, though he might not have studied *Yoga* and *Vedanta* as Dara Shukoh had done. The system of thought which appealed to the Muslims of India was the one as propounded by Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Yahya Manyari, Shaikh Aman Panipati, Miyan Mir, Shah Muhibbullah and Mulla Shah and not of the stamp of Mujaddid or his bigoted followers whose popularity did not extend beyond a small fraction of the Muslim population consisting of religious fanatics and bigoted *Mullas* who were labouring under imaginary fears and apprehensions.

1. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 532. Aurangzeb had profound interest in the *Masnawi* of Maulana Rum.

2. Mehta Isar Das Nagar: *Futuhat i-Alamgiri*, (Rieu, I, 269 A, Add. 23, 884), f. 1099.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 164a.

4. *Maktubat i-Kalimi*, p. 55.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

CHAPTER NINE

THE SUCCESSORS OF MUJADDID

Sons of Mujaddid

Mujaddid's eldest son Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq was born in 1,000/1591-92. He received his early education and training under the care of his grandfather Shaikh Abdul Ahad and gave proof, to the great astonishment of the aged Saint, of being gifted with an inquisitive bent of mind. After the death of his father, Mujaddid reached Delhi where he came in contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah in 1008/1599-1600. The latter found Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq a promising chap of pleasing manners and so became fond of him. He began to teach Muhammad Sadiq with great interest. Under Baqi Billah he showed such uncommon tendencies as were not noticed in the boys of his age and, though gifted with an inquisitive intellect, books would sometimes hold no interest for him. In moments of ecstasy, he would forsake his books and leave the house bare-footed and bare-headed. From his very childhood he is said to have exhibited a keen insight and true understanding of the matters relating to *Kashf i-Kaun*[1] and *Kashf i-Qubur*.[2] It is alleged that Khwaja Baqi Billah had such an unshakable faith in his prudence and *Kashf* that he would ask him to foretell events to come and would also take him to the graveyard, with a view to obtaining knowledge of the affairs of the dead.[3] The early stages of his development were ascribed to *Sukr* and Khwaja Baqi Billah, in a letter which he wrote to him after his departure to Sirhind with his father, comforted him with the hope that he would in no time pass on to the stage of *Sahw* from *Sukr*.[4]

When Khwaja Baqi Billah had authorised Mujaddid to train some of his disciples, he advised him to take Muhammad Sadiq too under his care. Along with the progress of some of his disciples in mystic journey, Mujaddid in one of his letters to Khwaja Baqi Billah communicated

1. Revelation of the happenings.
2. Revelation of graves or the state of affairs of dead bodies.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 300-302; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Rampur Ms.s), f. 80a; *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 306.
4. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Baqi Billah*, ff. 12b-13a.

the progress made by Muhammad Sadiq, in the following words: "Muhammad Sadiq has had no control over himself from his early childhood. Whenever he accompanies me somewhere, he evinces strides of progress which one could hardly imagine. He was with me during one of my sojourns in the valley and there he exhibited striking progress. He is engrossed in the state of *Hairat*[1] and his condition resembles with that of this humble self."[2]

Asceticism and a retired life had great charm for Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq. He paid no attention even to the men of position and rank during their visits to Mujaddid. Once a *Darwesh* brought to his notice, by way of complaint, the oppressions and high-handedness of some of his neighbours and requested him to administer a warning to them and if need be also to punish a few of them. Muhammad Sadiq replied with a heavy heart that if he were also to commence hostilities against others, there would remain no difference between him and other worldly people.[3] Mujaddid continued to convey the essence of his teachings and the high station, which he claimed to have acquired in mystic hierarchy, to his son. A letter addressed to him by Mujaddid explains all the salient features of his teachings and claims.[4] How greatly impressed Mujaddid was with Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq's virtues is evident from the appreciative language he used, in regard to his attainments in his letters. At a very young age, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq is said to have acquired considerable grasp of the *Aqli*[5] and *Naqli*[6] disciplines. Mujaddid was so much confident of his abilities that when he intended to leave Sirhind for Delhi he wrote to one of his disciples, Muhammad Salih Kaulabi: "This place has been assigned by the Almighty to my worthy son and has been included in his *Wilayat*.[7] This humble self has been staying like strangers in his *Wilayat*."[8]

Muhammad Sadiq was, however, not destined to live long ; he died, on account of plague then raging in Sirhind, on Monday 9 Rabi I,

1. A state of amazement in mystic progress.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 18.
3. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 303 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. I, (Rampur Mss.) ; f. 80b.
4. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 260.
5. Based on reasoning,
6. Based on traditions.
7. Spiritual domain.
8. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 244.

1025/27 March, 1616 at about twenty-five years of age.[1] Two of Mujaddid's other sons, Muhammad Farrukh and Muhammad Isa, of eleven and eight years respectively, promising and intelligent, died in the epidemic, as well as a daughter, Umm i-Kulsum.[2] Mujaddid has referred, with great pathos, to the death of Muhammad Sadiq in several letters published in the collections of his epistles[3] and considered that Sirhind had acquired great eminence on account of Muhammad Sadiq's being buried there.[4] Muhammad Sadiq was very humble, and meek, and would remark : "All the saints pray the Almighty for one thing or the other while I pray for the acquisition of humility and self-abasement."[5]

Mujaddid's second son Khwaja Muhammad Said was born in Shaban, 1005/April, 1597 in Sirhind and was brought up in an atmosphere of reverence for Khwaja Baqi Billah and of discourses on mysticism. It is said that during his serious illness at the age of four or five, people enquired of him what he wished. He expressed a desire to see Hazrat Khwaja, who never had had an occasion to come in contact with the former. He was educated by Mujaddid, his elder brother Muhammad Sadiq and Shaikh Tahir, an eminent disciple of Mujaddid. It is alleged that when only just seventeen or eighteen he had acquired all the subtleties of the prevalent *Maqul* and *Manqul* disciplines and began to participate actively in religious debates. Once in a debate organised by a noble at Lahore to which the eminent local Sufis were also invited, he along with his brother is said to have beaten all of them on the problems relating to *Sijda i-Tahiyat* and *Sijda i-Ibadat*[6] to the great surprise of all the participants.

A detailed study of *Fiqh* had placed him in a position to satisfy all those who approached him with their difficulties. His father, who had little leisure to consult books, would pass on to him doubtful

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, p. 305 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, (Rampur Mss.), f. 83a ; *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 596-597. According to this work he died in 1024H at the age of twenty-five.
2. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 324-326 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Rampur Mss.), f. 83b; *Makutbat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no. 306.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter no 306 ; Vol. II, Letter no. 17.
4. *Ibid*; Vol. II, Letter no. 22.
5. *Ibid*; Vol. I, Letter no. 306.
6. *cf. Supra*, pp. 290-291.

points requiring reference to learned works, for an opinion. He wrote notes on *Mishkat ul-Masabih* in which he discussed the traditions which were derived from the *Hanafi Imams*. Authorship of some other treatises is also ascribed to him.[1] He was initiated into the Naqshbandi order by his father and was deeply attached to him. Mujaddid's letters addressed to him relate to *Zalal*, *Wilayat i-Sughra*, and *Wilayat i-Kubra*, the perfection of *Nubuwat*, the reality of the *Tajalli* of actions, the *Quran* as a compendium of all the commandments of *Shara*, the superiority of Imam Abu Hanifa, the secrets of the *Kalima* of the Muslims and the *Miraj*.[2] The letters which Mujaddid wrote to him from the camp of the Emperor are full of paternal affection and comprise a touching account of his separation from him and the satisfaction which he was able to acquire due to the opportunities he got there for the propagation of his mission.[3] In Ajmer in 1032/1622-23, Mujaddid expressed his desire to Muhammad Hashim to appoint Khwaja Muhammad Said as his successor. When Muhammad Said was informed of the decision, he remarked with utmost humility and tears in his eyes, "I least deserve the honour. Whenever my father leaves for any other place, he appoints my brother Khwaja Muhammad Masum in his place and I am directed to obey and serve him. If he is not satisfied with my supplications, I may be allowed to lead a retired life in the tomb of my grandfather, which is outside the city and Khwaja Muhammad Masum should succeed him." When his remarks were communicated to Khwaja Muhammad Masum he also, with tearful eyes, observed that he was highly grieved to find that his brother Muhammad Said did not consider him fit for his service, although he found himself much inferior to his brother in the observance of the *Shariat*, in temperament and in knowledge. He added that he considered it his good fortune to work as his subordinate. When Muhammad Hashim communicated the event to Mujaddid, he was deeply moved by the humility, self-sacrifice and mutual affection of both the brothers, and blessed them.[4]

1. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 309-310 ; *Hazrat u-Quds*, Vol. II, f. 85a ; *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, Amritsar Edition, Letter no. 3.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter nos. 6, 259, 296, 311; Vol. II, 3, 55, 71, 91; Vol. III, 46, 48, 61, 64, 73, 77, 88, 93.
3. *Ibid*; Vol. III, no. 78.
4. *Zubdat ul-Maqamat*, pp. 312-313.

After the death of Mujaddid and the succession of Muhammad Masum to his father's place, Khwaja Muhammad Said continued to live in close co-operation with his younger brother. He is said to have often visited Shah Jahan's court. According to Badr ud-Din, Shah Jahan would never refer the questions of law in his presence to any other Alim.[1] The fact is not recorded in any of the contemporary chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign nor is Muhammad Said mentioned by the chroniclers in any other connection.

Khwaja Muhammad Said along with his younger brother proceeded on pilgrimage in the end of Shah Jahan's reign in 1067/1656-57 and returned to India after the accession of Aurangzeb. In Jamada I, 1069/February 1659 when the imperial army, after the victory of Khajwa, passed through Agra in pursuit of Dara Shukoh, gifts were made to some Alim and Khushhal Khan *Kalawant* (a musician). Three hundred *Asharfis* were awarded to him and his younger brother Shaikh Muhammad Masum. Muhammad Kazim says, "Shaikh Muhammad Said and Shaikh Muhammad Masum, sons of late Shaikh (Ahmad Sirhindi) are, aware of the secrets of *Haqaiq* and *Ulum*[2] of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Every one of them is the true descendant of that traveller of the path of *Tariqat* and *Irfan* insofar as his apparent and real virtues and perfection are concerned."[3] On the occasion of the festivities connected with the weighing ceremony of the Emperor on his 43rd solar birthday, Rabi I 1071/November 1660 he received the gift of a *Khilat* and two thousand rupees.[4] He again visited Aurangzeb in the fourth year of his reign (1661-62) on the latter's request. The gifts, like those, given to Mujaddid by Jahangir were neither large nor extraordinary.[5]

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol II, (Rampur Ms.) ff. 85a-85b.

هرگاه ایشان به محفل بهشت ائین سلطانی به تقریبي حاضر شده اند بادشاه استفسار مسائل از
دیگری نه نموده بانکه علما وفضلا در مجلس عالي بندگان حضرت ظل الهي همواره حاضرمي باشند

2. Spiritual truth and religious knowledge.
3. Muhammad Kazim : *Alamgir Nama* (Calcutta, 1868), p. 295.
4. *Ibid*; p. 595.
5. Other saints and Alims received much higher gifts. Even Khushhal Khan Kalawant (a musician) received gifts of greater value.

In November-december 1658, Aurangzeb gave Khushhal Khan and Bisram Khan each one a she—elephant. Other court musicians were also given Rs. 5000 [Kazim : *Alamgir Nama* (*Bib. Ind.*) p. 232.

Muhammad Baqa, the author of *Mirat i-Jahan Numa,* says, "The Emperor had complete faith and perfect devotion in him. He visited him in the fourth regnal year at his request and was accorded great honour and respect. Through his recommendation a large number of the needy received *Madad i-Maash.*" He died on his way back to Sirhind and his mortal remains were consigned to the tomb of Mujaddid.[1]

Khwaja Muhammad Masum, the third son of Mujaddid and his successor, was born on 11 Shawwal, 1007/7 May, 1599. Mujaddid considered his birth to be most auspicious for him as a few months later he came in contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah which marked a turning point in his career. Mujaddid cherished very high hopes for Khwaja Muhammad Masum while he was an infant due to his interest in the scholarly and Sufic pursuits which characterised his home environment. Mujaddid educated him with great care and was greatly impressed with his precocity. He would remind him to complete his educational career as early as possible for he had intended to assign him some very exalted tasks. When only fourteen he once told his father, "I find there is an effulgence out of my own self which is illuminating the entire world. Each particle is receiving light from it. This light is so intense and effusive that even if the sun were to submerge itself in this light, it would appear only as a world of darkness." Mujaddid predicted that he would become *Qutb* of his time.[2] It is said that he

B. One hundred *Asharfis,* Khushhal Khan received, alongwith Shaikh Muhammad Masum and Shaikh Muhammad Said in February 1659 (*Alamgir Nama,* p. 293).

C. In 1660-61, Khushhal Khan Kalawant was weighed against rupees and the amount of seven thousand rupees was given to him. (*Alamgir Nama,* p. 488).

D. In 1661-62, Khushhal and his brother Bisram Khan received a *khilat* of four thousand rupees and three thousand rupees in cash. Jauhar Khan Kalawant was also given 2000 rupees (*Alamgir Nama,* p. 644.)

E. In 1664-65, he was awarded a horse. (*Almgir Nama,* p. 857).

1. *Mirat i-Jahan Numa,* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 597-598. According to Muhammad Amin the author of *Manaqib i-Hazrat* he died in 1070H. According to *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* he died on 27 Jamada II, 1070/11 March, 1660. These dates cannot be reconciled with the account of *Alamgir Nama.* Muhammad Baqa also belonged to the order of Mujaddid, hence his statement appears to be correct.
2. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum,* (Kanpur edition), Letter no. 86 ; *Hazrat ul-Quds,* Vol. II, f. 97a (Rampur Mss.) ; *Zubdat ul-Maqamat,* p.317; *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* (Rampur Mss.), p. 598.

was fully acquainted with all the subtle secrets of divine knowledge and gnosis which were laid down in the letters of his father. Moreover, some particular type of spiritual secrets, which were not available in the letters and which Mujaddid would relate in private discourses, were also known to him and he had copied them out in a note-book. No one else was acquainted with those except Shaikh Muhammad Masum.[1] Letters which Mujaddid wrote to Shaikh Muhammad Masum reiterate all that he wrote in *Mabda wa Maad* and comprise the different aspects of his approach to *Wahdat i-Shuhud*.[2] In one of his letters which Mujaddid wrote to him between 1025/1616 and 1028/1618-19, most probably sometime near 1025H, he informed him of the high spiritual status which he had acquired and wrote to him that he was neither born for *Piri-Muridi* nor for the guidance of the people or making the seekers perfect. The letter seeks indirectly to point out that had Muhammad not been the last of the prophets, Mujaddid might have been appointed as a prophet. However, on account of his implicit obedience to the prophets he claimed to have attained a status not very much inferior to them[3]. He desired his son to constantly strive to attain the same position which he himself had acquired. In a letter to Shaikh Muhammad Masum from his place of confinement in Gwalior, Mujaddid informed him, "You need not worry for my imprisonment, nor should you bother if my house, *khanqah*, wells, gardens and books are in danger. The loss of these things is of no consequence to me. None of these should be an obstacle to your application to the Almighty." He further wrote him, "Had we died, these things were bound to be lost to us. If we are deprived of these in our own life time, this should not worry us in the least. It had been quite habitual with the saints of the past to have no lasting attachment with such belongings and they generally discarded them voluntarily. We should deem it our special privilege that we leave them gratefully at the command of the Almighty. By so doing we would be included in the class of the sanctified ones. Wherever we are sitting, we should take it as our motherland. This transitory life should be sacrificed for the cause of the Almighty. Worldly affairs are of no significance. We should concentrate on the life to come."[4]

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, (Rampur Mss.), f. 96b.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter nos. 11, 73, 98; Vol. III, Letter nos. 53, 62, 74, 76, 79, 80, 94, 109 and 110.
3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 6.
4. *Ibid*; Vol. III, Letter no. 2.

Jahangir reached Ajmer on 19 Rajab, 1032[1]/19 May, 1623 and the imperial camp remained there till 1 Safar, 1033/24 November, 1623.[2] Mujaddid was also with the imperial camp in this journey. During his march to Ajmer he wrote to Khwaja Muhammad Masum, "After reaching Ajmer when I get some relief from the toils of journey, I shall call you. You should abandon the life of ease and comfort and not hanker after the flesh, lest you become negligent of your primary duties." Probably it was during this journey that he decided to make him his successor. He wrote to him : "The recent *Maarif* which have been written are for your guidance. They should not be taken lightly. Strenuous efforts should be made to study them. Perhaps the doors of its secret might be opened upon you and thus become the cause of your felicity. I have received some joyful tidings for you from the Almighty, which I have written down in a letter and handed over to Khwaja Muhammad Hashim Kishmi so that he might deliver it to you. I hope that God in His mercy will not leave you wandering about and will reward you. But be in constant fear of Him and stand trembling. Don't waste your time in amusements and games."[3]

After some time Mujaddid wrote to him informing that he was appointed *Qaiyum* by the Almighty in his place.[4] Khwaja Muhammad Masum shortly afterwards visited his father at Ajmer in Zilhijja, 1032/September-October, 1623 and the dignity was formally conferred upon him[5] before 10 Zilhijja, 1032/5 October, 1623. Mujaddid, after having striven hard to reform Muslim society through the nobles and the emperors, seems to have been convinced that, the traditions of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar could not successfully be pursued in India. He is, therefore, said to have prayed that his sons should not become the companions of the Emperor. Muhammad Amin, the author of

1. *Tuzuk i-Jahangiri* (Sir Saiyid edition), p. 361.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

3. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III, Letter no. 85.

4. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 104.

5. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur) Letter no. 86.

6. ونیز دعاکردہاند کہ شمامصاحب سلطان نہ شوید الحمدللہ همچنان بوقوع پیوست کہ شاهجہان
بادشاہ علیہ رحمۃاللہ بسیار مصاحبت ایشان‌می خواست میسر نہ شد

Manaqib ul-Hazrat, says that Shah Jahan anxiously yearned for their company though he was unable to meet with success in this regard. The chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign do not make even casual mention of him or his elder brother Khwaja Muhammad Said while they abound in descriptions of monists and pantheists. No Mujaddidi *Tazkira* seeks to explain the motive behind this change in Mujaddid's policy. It shows nothing but a complete breakdown of the movement which was started by Mujaddid in the early years of Jahangir's reign with letters in quick succession to some nobles and officials. A knowledge of the failure of the movement had dawned upon Mujaddid in the later years of his life and consequently he had stopped writing letters to the nobles. Even his visits to different places with the imperial camp yielded no tangible success. Naturally he was averse to the idea of his sons repeating the same experiment and thus frittering away their energy in making fruitless efforts. They might have taken a lesson from the activities of Shaikh Adam Banuri,[1] an eminent disciple of Mujaddid, who was expelled by Shah Jahan to Hijaz.

Shaikh Adam Banuri

The ancestors of Shaikh Adam Banuri hailed from Roh, but one of them had settled in Banur near Sirhind. His paternal ancestors were Saiyids and the maternal ones Afghans. Originally he was initiated into the Naqshbandi order at Multan by Haji Khizr Khan Afghan,[2] a disciple

Muhammad Amin : *Manaqib ul-Hazrat* (Mss. Personal collection), f. 38a. *cf. Hazrat ul-Quds,* Vol. II, (Rampur Mss.), f. 99a.

1. He has given his line of descent in *Khulasat ul-Maarif* as under : Adam b. Saiyid Ismail b. Saiyid Buhwa b. Saiyid Haji Yusuf b. Saiyid Yaqub b. Saiyid Husain b. Saiyid Daulat b. Saiyid Uqbail d. Saiyid Sadi b. Saiyid Qalandar who traced his ancestory back to Saiyid Ibrahim, the younger brother of Imam Ali Riza and son of Imam Musa Kazim. (*Khulasat ul-Maarif,* Ethe, 1892), f. 2a.

2. Adam Banuri : *Khulasat ul-Maarif,* f. 2b.
Haji Khizr Khan Afghan was a companion of Mujaddid's father Shaikh Abdul Ahad. He was highly devoted to a secluded and retired life and was held in great esteem by Mujaddid who is said to have remarked that Satan had told Mujaddid that among his disciples he could not only influence Haji Khizr Khan Afghan. Mujaddid would often in a light mood address him as 'Khizra'. The owner of an effective speaking voice, he would melodiously recite *Durud* and call people to prayers. [*Zubdat ul-Maqamat,* pp. 383-384. ; *Hazrat ul-Quds,* Vol. II, (Rampur Mss.), ff. 133a-133b ; *Manaqib ul-Hazrat,* ff. 52b-63b.]

of Mujaddid who lived in Bahlulpur in the vicinity of Sirhind but Shaikh Adam was subsequently recommended by him to Mujaddid for further training. When he reached Mujaddid, the latter told him, "You are only in the initial stages and have yet to acquire perfection." Shaikh Adam thought that Mujaddid merely intended to provoke him to making further efforts ; otherwise there was nothing left for him to acquire. However, after a short time he was able to realise, that whatever knowledge he had gained was only rudimentary and merely a fraction of what he was desired to know. Subsequently he was allowed by Mujaddid to initiate disciples and asked to leave for Banur.[1] He compiled the teachings of his preceptor and the salient features of the Naqshbandi doctrines in *Kalimat ul-Maarif* in 1035/1625-26. Like Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, he was also able to attract a huge band of Afghans to his discipleship.[2] Following the tradition of his preceptor he was very particular in enjoining upon his disciples and others coming in contact with him to observe scrupulously the principles of *Shara*. He ruthlessly attacked Shias[3] and such others as dared to stand in disagreement with his principles.[4] He also wrote several works, the most famous being the *Nukat ul-Asrar*, comprising the essence of Mujaddid's teachings. He claimed to attach no significance to miracle-mongering and supernatural feats,[5] though his chief disciple Muhammad Amin has based his biography mainly on his miracles, revelations and mystic inspirations. He has laboured to prove by recounting miraculous events that the success of Shah Jahan and his nobles was greatly due to Shaikh Adam Banuri's efforts. Shaikh Nur Muhammad Peshawari related to the author of the *Manaqib ul-Hazrat* that the former was once deputed to reduce a strong fortress of some *kafirs*. His soldiers were extermely nervous and at a loss to devise means for an effective victory ; just then a Saiyid on a horseback appeared as their saviour who drove the *kafirs* out of the fort. The forces of Islam were triumphant. *Kafirs* are said to have related later that they had the overpowering sensation that the fort was burning and toppling over them and they, therefore, took to a hasty flight. The slain and the arrested among the *kafirs* numbered many. The author relates anecdotes of similar assistance extended by him to the

1. *Hazrat ul-Quds* (Rampur Mss.), Vol. II, f. 149b; *Manaqib ul-Hazrat*, ff. 63b-64a.
2. According to Muhammad Amin he had about one hundred *Khalifas* and two lac disciples, (*Manaqib ul-Hazrat*, f. 63b).
3. *Ibid.*, ff. 100a-100b.
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 56-163, 102-138.
5. *Ibid.*, ff. 108b-109a.

contemporary nobles, Bahadur Khan, Shams Khan and Alam Khan.[1]

Shaikh Adam himself related how he helped Shah Jahan whom some of his servants tried to kill by poisoning. He says. "As soon as the servants of Shah Jahan proceeded to hand over poison-mixed syrup to the latter, the invisible hand of the Shaikh gave them slaps on their cheeks and laid them flat. One of them even succumbed to the slapping." Shaikh Adam claimed also to have frustrated more than once, in accordance with the command of the Almighty, the attempts of the sorcerers and enemies of the Emperor on the latter's life. Muhammad Amin has depicted Shaikh Adam as always helping and protecting Shah Jahan.[2]

However, his services to Shah Jahan and his kingdom, even if taken to be true, were apparently not known beyond the circle of his disciples. Shah Jahan accorded them no recognition. During his period of stay in Banur, the assembly of his Afghan disciples and the patronage which he extended to them went unnoticed but in 1052/1642-43 when he reached Lahore with a large number of Afghan disciples, his activities were reported to the Emperor. Muhammad Amin says, "When the Saiyid had arrived in Lahore, the nobles and plebeians, the Alims and the pious men, the *Amirs* and the soldiers usually thronged to him in unimaginable numbers and this multitude of visitors would at times become so unmanageable that some *Amirs* would have to retrace their steps without having got access to him. These *Amirs*, with a view to avenging their failure to see him, represented to the Emperor that such and such Shaikh had on his side such a huge band of Afghan followers that he would easily become a king on his own strength if he only so desired. The report unnerved the Emperor and 'made his hair stand on end.' As he was sincere to the *Darweshes*, he deputed Sadullah Khan[3] *Wazir* to see him.

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 122b-123a.
2. *Ibid* , f. 109b, *cf.* Similar claims of Abdur Rahman Chishti, *Mirat ul-Asrar*.
3. According to other sources Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti was also sent with Sadullah Khan. Shah Waliullah on the authority of his father Shah Abdur Rahim, to whom the incident was related by some of the disciples of Shah Adam, says, "When the Shaikh's celebrity reached the ears of Shah Jahan, he deputed Sadullah Khan and Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti to see him. Both of them reached the Shaikh's house. Shaikh was at that time lost in meditation. They remained seated at his doors for a long time. When he became free from his meditation, they entered his cell. He showed no respect to them. This touched off their anger against him. Sadullah Khan said, 'I am a worldly man. I do not deserve any respect but Maulana Abdul Hakm is an Alim. It was essential for you to have shown respect to him.' (*Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 13).

Sadullah Khan at that time had no faith in *Darweshes*. When he reached Shaikh Adam, he found that he was not adequately welcomed. He said to him : 'Do you call yourself a Saiyid ?' He said, 'Our paternal ancestors were no doubt Saiyids but as we have been living for a very long time with the Afghans, we have come to be known as Afghans. We have several times seen Prophet Muhammad in vision who had conveyed the happy tidings of our being Saiyid to us.' Returning to the Emperor, Sadullah Khan conveyed the alarming news to him and said, 'The Shaikh establishes his claims of being a Saiyid on the basis of visions of Prophet Muhammad. He commands such a large following that he can reasonably be considered as an enemy camping in the neighbourhood.' The imperial army being away from the capital to fight against the *kafirs* of the hills, a military expedition against Shaikh Adam and his followers was not only inadvisable but impracticable. However, the Emepror did not underestimate the gravity of the danger and he sent word to Shaikh Adam to depart from Lahore. Shaikh Adam accordingly left Lahore. One Bahadur Khan went up to the Shaikh and begged him to confer the throne of Delhi on him. The Shaikh said, 'You are not destined to rule and so should not raise an insurrection.' Shaikh Adam reached his native land and thence left for Mecca. Later on one Mir Mansur is said to have dispelled the clouds of suspicion from the Emperor's mind. The Emperor's eagerness to see the Shaikh was sharpened and he not only sent him costly robes and expenses for his journey but also expressed a desire for his early return from Mecca. He received these gifts in Mecca and on the entreaties of his disciples he put them on for one day and prayed for the Emperor".[1] He actually seems to have never been reconciled to Shah Jahan and one of his disciples, Haji Yar Muhammad, is said to have cast the weight of his blessings against Aurangzeb, the alleged disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Masum, in the Afghan wars of 1667-75. His prayers were so effective that Shaikh Abdur Rahim, father of Shah Waliullah, despite the entreaties of his followers, could not pray for Aurangzeb.[2]

Shaikh Badr ud-Din has also remarked that he was banished to Mecca[3] and the author of the *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* in most unambiguous words has said, "Some of his opponents reported to the Emperor

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 64a-65a.
2. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 62.
3. *Hazrat ul-Quds*, Vol. II, (Rampur Mss.), f. 150a.

that an Afghan calls himself a Saiyid and has assembled a large body of the followers. He is conceiving undesirable plans. Sadullah Khan was deputed to make enquiries. Sadullah Khan after visiting the Shaikh confirmed that Shaikh Adam Banuri claimed himself to be a Saiyid and had no acquaintance with the secular and spiritual learning. The Emperor was infuriated and he banished him from India. The Shaikh immediately left for the Kaba."[1] Muhammad Amin's earlier version of the incident[2] also corroborates the above two accounts. According to the author of the *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, Shaikh Adam before going to Lahore paid a visit to Shaikh Muhammad Masum and solicited his permission to preach the Mujaddid's mission to the imperial camp which was then halting at Lahore. Shaikh Muhammad Masum did not allow him to do so and informed his elder brother that his preachings in the imperial camp would only humiliate the mission, but Shaikh Adam Banuri cared not a fig for it. Kamal ud-Din says, "Shaikh Adam considered himself superior to all the disciples of Hazrat Mujaddid and thought that he did not stand in need of the second *Qaiyum*. He would say that Mujaddid had made him independent and he did not require the help of anyone else." Shaikh Muhammad Masum was therefore enraged at him. The author ascribes Shaikh Adam's banishment to Mecca to his arrogance and presumptuous behaviour as also to his neglecting the advice of the second *Qaiyum* without whose consent nothing could take place[3] in the world. It is, therefore, clear from the accounts of the scholars favourable to Shaikh Muhammad Masum that no love was lost between them and he was banished from India on account of his activities subversive of law and order.

SECOND QAIYUM (SHAIKH MUHAMMAD MASUM).

Shaikh Muhammad Masum and his elder brother preferred to lead a retired life and all the aggressive preachings originally started by Mujaddid were given up. Jahangir and Shah Jahan did not differ in their attitudes towards and dealings with saints and Sufis. Saiyid Ahmad Afghan and Mujaddid were imprisoned in Gwalior Fort by Jahangir under circumstances similar to those under which Shaikh Adam Banuri was banished to Mecca by Shah Jahan where he died on 13 Shawwal, 1053/25 December, 1643.

1. *Mirat i-Jahan Numa*, (Rampur Mss.), p. 606.
2. *Manaqib ul-Hazrat*, f. 64a, *cf.* Shah Waliullah Dehlawi: *Anfas ul-Arifin*, (Delhi, 1917), pp. 13-14.
3. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, ff. 178a, b,.

In 1067/1656 Shaikh Muhammad Masum alongwith Muhammad Said, his younger brother Shaikh Muhammad Yahya and other disciples and *Darweshes*, about one hundred in number, left for Hijaz.[1]

According to Muhammad Amin, Aurangzeb had entered into his discipleship but despite his keen desire Shaikh Muhammad Masum refused to associate himself with the Emperor.[2] Among the modern scholars Dr. Yusuf Husain believes that the Emperor was a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Masum while Shaikh Muhammad Ikram[3] has refuted this belief and has rightly shown that Aurangzeb held all the sons of Mujaddid and other members of his family in great respect.[4] Muhammad Baqa, another contemporary scholar, makes mention of Aurangzeb's sincere devotion to Shaikh Muhammad Masum and profound belief in the latter.[5]. On a previous occasion Shaikh Muhammad Masum had written a letter to Aurangzeb when the latter as a prince was probably proceeding on the Qandahar expedition. The letter brings out the importance of *Jihad i-Akbar* (crusade against inordinate appetites) in comparison to *Jihad i-Asghar* (actual warfare against the *kafirs*). Shaikh Muhammad Masum regarded even *Jihad i-Asghar* much superior to the prayers and vigils of the saints. He lamented his inability to participate in warfare against the *kafirs* and emphasised that the acts of piety and righteousness performed on the occasion of *Jihad* were far superior and blissful than similar actions performed during normal times. Drawing a distinction between *Jihad* against one's carnal passions and war against mortal enemies, he considered the former as worthy of being waged constantly and persistently, for inordinate passions

1. *Manaqib ul-Hazrat*, f. 44b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 38a.

شاہ اورنگ‌زیب سلمہ‌اللہ مریدایشان گردید لیکن دوام صحبت ایشان مي خواست قبول نہ کردند

3. Yusuf Husain: *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1949), p. 53.

4. *Rud i-Kausar*, pp. 198-199.

5. بادشاہ‌دین پناہ رابخدمت انجناب اخلاص فراوان واعتقاد مفرط بود

(*Mirat i-Jahan Nuam*, p. 600.)

lead one to heresy and disbelief, while the latter was only of a temporary nature, hence of less importance.[1]

This letter provides the only evidence on the basis of which it can be surmised that Aurangzeb knew him before he was a prince. On account of Aurangzeb's devotion to *Shara*, the activities of Shaikh Muhammad Masum or those of his sons might not have remained unnoticed by the Emperor. The letter shows that Shaikh Muhammad Masum had high hopes for Aurangzeb who might have held him in reverence too as he manifested profound interest in other saints. Nothing beyond this can be objectively surmised. He is not known to have visited the tomb of either Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi or later on that of Shaikh Muhammad Masum while passing through Sirhind region many times during his reign. On his return march from Hasan Abdal he stayed for two days in the Naw Lakha garden in the vicinity of Sirhind (early 1676) and remained occupied in sight-seeing but did not pay a visit to the tomb of Sirhindi saints.[2] On the other hand he paid visits to the tomb of almost all the saints including that of Shah Madar[3] (*d*. 840/1436).

In Hijaz Shaikh Muhammad Masum was informed of the war of succession which had broken out between Dara Shukoh and his brothers. Undecided whether he should return to India he is said to have meditated at the shrine of Prophet Muhammad who, we are told, prophesied

1. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 64. Mulla Shah had also written two letters to Dara Shukoh during his expedition to Qandahar. (*Sakinat ul-Auliya*).
2. Mahta Isar Das Nagar: *Futuhat i-Alamgiri* (Add. 23, 884), f. 72a.
3. When the Emperor reached Multan in pursuit of Dara Shukoh in Muharram 1069/Oct. 1658, he paid a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. (*Alamgir Nama*, p. 209). While on his return march he reached Delhi he visited the tomb of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya and Khwaja Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (*Ibid*., p. 234). On 14 Rabi II, 1069/9 January, 1659 while marching against Shuja he reached Makanpur and visited the tomb of Shah Badi ud-Din, popularly known as Shah Madar. (*Ibid*., p. 241). After the execution of Dara Shukoh he again visited the tombs of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya and Khwaja Qutb ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki in Rabi I, 1071/November, 1660. Gifts were awarded to the custodians of the tomb and the needy on each occasion. (*Ibid*., p. 443). In the end of 1089/1678-79, while leading the expedition against the Rana of Jodhpur, he visited the tomb of Khwaja Muin ud-Din Chishti at Ajmer. (*Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Part II, p. 262). In March 1688, when he reached Gulbarga he did not fail to pay homage to the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz and to offer ten thousand rupees as *Nazar* (gift). (Isar Das Nagar: *Futuhat i-Alamgiri*, f. 109a).

to him that Dara Shukoh would be killed and Aurangzeb would ascend the throne. Shortly afterwards the news of Aurangzeb's succession and Dara Shukoh's defeat reached him in Hijaz. He trekked back to India and is mentioned along with his elder brother Khwaja Mahmud Said as a recipient of a gift of three hundred *Asharfis* in Jamada I, 1069/February, 1659. It is strange to find no mention of his name alongwith his brother when the latter was again granted a *Khilat* and gift in 1660. Any way, he occasionally visited the Emperor. Muhammad Baqa says, "The Emperor, the protector of the Faith, was very sincerely devoted to him. He invited him to his presence many times with utmost supplication and had spiritual intercourse with him and acquired abundant bliss".[1] Shaikh Muhammad Masum had deputed his fifth son Shaikh Saif ud-Din to the Emperor, and himself wrote several letters[2] to Aurangzeb. In all these letters he had expressed thanks to the Almighty for granting peace and tranquillity to Aurangzeb's reign and rendering him capable of popularising Islamic practices. He illustrated his view-point with a number of traditions from standard works on *Hadis*. In a letter to Aurangzeb he expressed satisfaction over the news which he had received regarding the Emperor's *Jamiyat i-Batini* (esoteric composure). This letter seeks to explain the doctrine of *Tauhid i-Shuhudi* and criticises the conception of the relation between God and man as that of nearness, proximity, identity and union. Explaining the transcendental conception of Divine Unity, Shaikh Muhammad Masum tried to convince the Emperor that, "traversing the mystic journey or path amounts to only removing all kinds of veils between man and God, nothing less and nothing more than that. Merely traversing the mystic path does not mean that the man has reached the final goal. It can only be the means to that end. Spiritual perfections are derived from the niche of prophethood (Muhammad) and other sources have no

1. *Mirat i-Jahan Numa*, p. 600.

چند بار بادشاه سلیمان اقتدار آن قدوة الابرار رابه نیاز تمام طلب حضور نموده سخنهای معنوی
داشته فیضها دربرده

2. *Wasilat us-Saadat* second volume of the letters of Khwaja Muhammad Masum, Letter no. 64 ; *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Amritsar), Letter nos. 122, 221, 227 ; Maulana Nasim Ahmad Amrohawi: *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum* (Urdu summary and translation—Lucknow, 1960), pp. 114, 199, 251, 281, 286.

importance."[1] In a letter to his son Shaikh Saif ud-Din, who had communicated to him the spiritual progress which the Emperor had made, and the abolition of certain unlawful practices whch he had ordered, Shaikh Muhammad Masum predicted that the Emperor would soon be able to acquire a very high mystic stage.[2] He wrote to the Emperor, "God be praised and thanked that the company of the son of the *Faqir* proved effective. Ordaining the lawful and condemning the unlawful is the habit of the *Faqir's* son. You have expressed your gratefulness and satisfaction over it."[3] To the Emperor's letter seeking his blessings and requesting him to pray to the Almighty, he sent the reply in a letter : "I have been busy praying for you for a long time but I have now intensified my prayers due to your special consideration towards me. My son, no doubt, is the lord of the external and internal perfections, still he has been deputed to your presence. He is not used to mixing with even a small number of people but he has been sent to you in consideration of your well-wishing. Your prayers for a happier end are bound to be answered satisfactorily as you sincerely yearn for it along with your arduous duties as a ruler (*Jahandari*)."[4]

The *Mujaddidi* scholars have over-emphasised the influence of Shaikh Muhammad Masum's son on the Emperor. The letters of Shaikh Muhammad Masum also show that his son ascribed many of the puritanic reforms of the Emperor to his efforts. According to the author of the *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* the Emperor paid several visits to him and derived spiritual benefits from his company. A number of innovations and illegal practices, which had been prevalent since the days of the past rulers and which fetched a huge income to the royal treasury, were said to have been abolished at his instance.[5] Shaikh Ubaid-ullah, elder son of Khwaja Muhammad Masum, too, is said to have exercised similar influence on Aurangzeb[6] but the author has not quoted any specific instance of their achievements. According to the *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* the temple of Mathura was demolished at the instance of Shaikh Muhammad Masum in the 41st year of the *Qaiyumiyat* (1073/

1. *Ibid.*, (Amritsar edition), Letter no. 122.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 220.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 221.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 227.
5. *Mirat i-Jahan Numa*, p. 612.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 610.

1662-63.[1] Shaikh Muhammad Masum visited Aurangzeb in the 43rd year of the *Qaiyumiyat* (1075/1664-65) to offer condolence on Shah Jahan's death. He complained to the Emperor about the negligence of the imperial officers in realising *Jizya*[2] as also their strictness in exacting illegal taxes from merchants. The Emperor promised to look into the matter and assured him to impose *Jizya* with greater zeal and strictness.[3] In the forty-fifth year of the *Qaiyumiyat* (1077/1666-67) he deputed his son Shaikh Saif ud-Din to guide the Emperor in matters relating to the religion. The Shaikh before entering Delhi Fort had all the paintings and the golden and silver statues of elephants installed by Dara Shukoh removed. Music was totally banned at his instance. Even *sama* gatherings could not be held and became a thing of the past. No un-Islamic ceremony was performed on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Azam. After his return to Sirhind, it is said, that a canopy of brocade studded with pearls and jewels was fitted for him. A jewelled chair was placed for his use and the mace-bearer with golden and silver staffs usually stood around him.[4]

The disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Masum and his descendants in their zeal to prove the influence of their preceptor over Aurangzeb did not care to pay adequate attention to the facts of history. They failed to realize that the events in Aurangzeb's reign had passed beyond the range of interference by the *Mujaddidis* and the orthodox. Aurangzeb had undoubtedly earned a very high name for his orthodoxy and adherence to the principles of the *Shariat*. But for a few lapses of youth, he led a strictly puritan and orthodox life. All of his actions and state policies did not, however, emerge from the considerations of the *Shara* or orthodoxy but most of them bore the stamp of political expediency. He could not find the support of eminent theologians on a number of basic issues which amounted to the struggle for his very existence. Since Shah Jahan was alive, the *Qazi ul-Quzzat* of Delhi refused to recite the *Khutba* for Aurangzeb's accession. He did not yield to Qazi Abdul Wahhab's[5] persuasions and had to be

1. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya Rukn* (II), p. 130 It was demolished in January 1670.
2. *Jizya* was not re-imposed by that date Shah Jahan died in January 1666.
3. *Ibid., Rukn* II, f. 210a.
4. *Ibid, Rukn* II, ff. 212a-213a.
5. In the time of Shah Jahan he was for a long period *Qazi* of Patan, which was his birth place. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed to the government of the Deccan, the Qazi hastened to serve him and was received with honour. After the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, Abdul Wahhab became the *Qazi* of

dismissed.[1] Qazi Abdul Wahhab who succeeded him recited the *Khutba.* Though a grandson of Qazi Muhammad b. Tahir Patni, he "had a long arm for hauling and snatching, and had collected large sums of money". The property left by him amounted to a lakh of *Asharfis*[2] and five lakhs of rupees, besides jewels etc. This lust and greed were greatly resented by his eldest son, Shaikh ul-Islam, who did not touch the wealth left by his father and accepted the post of *Qazi ul-Quzzat* very reluctantly and only after the earnest persuasion of the Emperor.[3] As long as he remained in the office he continually asked to be relieved but the Emperor considered him indispensable for his Empire and he had to continue. The same Qazi, against the wishes of the Emperor declared war against Bijapur and Haiderabad to be unlawful and was allowed to resign and proceed to Mecca. Likewise when Qazi Abdullah advised the Emperor to make peace with Abul Hasan so that the unnecessary bloodshed amongst the Muslims should come to an end, the Emperor was so exasperated with him that the Qazi was stopped from coming to his presence.[4] Thus, for the matters which did not suit the Emperor, the consideration of the *Shara* were thrown over-board. In all minor matters which related to the *Shara*, the Emperor proceeded cautiously during the first ten years of his reign.

the army. "None of his predecessors held such a dignified position as he, for the King was disposed to uphold religious principles, considering that the maintenance of so wide a country depended upon the penal law (for heresy). The nobles and high officers who knew him well, burnt with envy against him. They also knew how he had amassed huge fortunes. Mahabat Lahrasp, the second son of the celebrated Mahabat Khan of Jahangir's reign, who was once sent off to the Deccan campaign, had halted for some days in the vicinity of the capital to get advances for the troops. He found out that three lakhs of rupees worth of Kashmir and Agra goods, which had been purchased by the *Qazi*, were being sent along with the goods of merchants to Ahmadabad. He was on bad terms with the *Qazi* and he laid hold on all things and gave them to the soldiers as maintenance. When this was reported to the King, Mahabat replied that out of necessity he had borrowed the goods from the merchants and that he would return them with the profit thereon." He died on 18 Ramazan, 1086/6 December, 1675, in Delhi. (*Khafi Khan* : *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, pp. 216, 247; *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 236-238, Beveridge and Baini Prasad, p. 75).

1. Isar Das Nagar : *Futuhat i-Alamgiri*, ff. 36b-37a.
2. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. According to Khafi Khan: "two lakhs of *Asharfis*"
3. Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 147 a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 173b.

On the occasion of his second coronation in June, 1659 he only abolished the celebration of *Naw Ruz*, gave precedence to the *Hijri* era and appointed Mulla Iwaz Wajih as *Muhtasib* (Censor of Morals) for enforcing the prohibitions on the use of *bhang* (hemp), *buza* and other intoxicants and indulgence in lewd practices and adultery. The second and more significant wave of legislation of the reform of Muslim society and the restoration of the glory of the *Shara* came in the eleventh year of the Emperor's reign.[1] The wedding of Prince Muhammad Azam was celebrated on 10 Shaban, 1079/3 January, 1669. The bride was none other than Jahan Zeb Banu Begum, the daughter of Dara Shukoh and Nadira Begum. The Emperor could have found no better opportunity for the display of puritanism and orthodoxy than this. The two life-sized statues of elephants on the two sides of the *Hatiapul* were removed just before the wedding. No restrictions on extravagance and festivities seem to have been imposed but music was conspicuous by its absence.[2] The Emperor had also become about fifty one years in age and the taste for "playing and toying" had deserted him. Khushhal Khan, Bisram Khan, Ras Bin and other favourite musicians were allowed to come to the court to pay homage but gradually music was totally stopped. The *Jharokha Darshan* was also given up the same year, and the following year saw the discontinuance of weighing the Emperor against gold and silver. Imperial astrologers and astronomers were removed from the service and the other experts known as *Munajjim Shinas*, who could determine the correct time of prayers, were appointed.[3] None of the above changes can be ascribed exclusively to the influence of Shaikh Muhammad Masum or that of his son.

The benefits of the tariff reforms and the abolition of certain taxes, introduced just after the execution of Dara Shukoh, embraced all sections of the population. From 1 Shawwal, 1075/17 April, 1665, the custom duties on the merchandise of Muslims was fixed at two and a half percent and at five percent on the goods of Hindus. From 9 May, 1667, the levy of the tax on the goods of Muslims was totally forbidden. These orders are contained in the *farmans* quoted in the *Mirat i-Ahmadi* and the changes are not mentioned in the official history of the Emperor, written by Muhammad Kazim, and seem to have been introduced

1. *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 385-392; Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 109b.
2. Mustaid Khan : *Maasir i-Alamgiri* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 74, 77-79.
3. Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, ff. 139b-140a.

only in Gujarat as experimental measures, though no such exception is available in the *farmans*. Qazi Abdul Wahhab belonged to an old family of Sunni *Bohras* and had vast commercial interests. No wonder these orders were promulgated on account of the persuasions of Qazi Abdul Wahhab. Consequences of this legislation were anticipated in the *farman* itself. The Emperor forgot to realise that religious considerations had little weight in economic matters. Hindus began to pass off their goods without paying the tax with the help of their Muslim colleagues to the utter confusion of trade and commerce and the ruin of the imperial revenues. A few other discriminatory taxes further cofounded the confusion.

On account of the Emperor's increasing inclination towards orthodoxy and the policy of introducing more and more of puritanism in all spheres, the power of the *Qazis*, *Muhtasibs* and theologians also began to increase. This brought them into severe conflict with the Muslim nobles. The nobles did not mind wooing the theologians as long as they confined their activities to religious matters. The *Mutasaddis*, *Diwans* and the *Subedars* began to resent their interference. The Emperor's favourites were most prominent in giving vent to their indignation. Even Qazi Abdul Wahhab was not spared. When the proposals of deputing Mahabat Khan against Shivaji were being discussed in 1079/1668-69, he unhesitatingly remarked, "There is no need of appointing an army or sending an expedition there. The citations of Qazi (Abdul Wahhab) will be sufficient."[1] Likewise Mukhtar Khan, alias Mir Shams ud-Din, the *Subedar* of Burhanpur, remained at daggers drawn with the *Qazi* of the province for a long time. Ultimately, in consideration of the Emperor's respect for the *Shara*, he had to effect a sort of patch up with the *Qazi*.[2] In 1082/1671-72, the *Qazi* of Lahore was done to death along with some of his relations by Qiwam ud-Din, the *Subedar* of Lahore, who was a relation of the Emperor.[3]

By 1669 a number of political factors had emerged. Shivaji escaped from Agra on 23 August, 1666. He found shelter in the temples and religious institutions at Mathura, Banaras and other centres of Hindu pligrimage. No immediate action could be taken against those who gave him shelter on account of the threat of Persian invasion. Lawlessness reigned in the troublous regions of the Jats

1. *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Part II, pp. 216-217.
2. Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 140b.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 257.

(round about Mathura) throughout the year 1669 on account of the Agrarian revolts. In some quarters they received the colour of a communal upirsing. The Emperor, inspite of handling the situation with tact and equanimity, seems to have embarked on a chain of repressive measures. The famous temple of Vishwanath at Banaras was demolished in August 1669 and that of Keshav Rai at Mathura, which was, in 1666, deprived of its stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh, was demolished in January 1670. The institutions of Hindus where admirers and students, Hindus and Muslims, both, thronged to receive education, specially those of Banaras [1] were demolished in about April 1669. The language used by over-zealous contemporary Muslim historian is fulsome. It seems that no general order for the demolition of the temples and schools was ever issued. The Brahmins, and the Hindu and Jain scholars continued to receive patronage and charities even after 1670.[2] Nevertheless it cannot be denied that some old temples were desecrated and demolished.[3] The apologists of Aurangzeb seek to emphasise that only the newly built temples were destroyed and the action thus taken was perfectly in order from the point of view of the *Shariat*. Historically, the matter is not so simple. Each case should be examined against the background of the local rebellion and movements. Aurangzeb failed to realise that the problem could not be solved by repression. If the mosques did not escape the wrath of Satnamis at Narnol[4] (1672) or that of Rana Kunwar Bhim Singh, in the imperial territory of Gujarat[5] (1681) the blame will have to go to Aurangzeb's policy of wreaking vengeance upon the places of the worship of the enemies.[6]

1. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 81.
2. *Cf.* 13 *parwanas* and *sanads* issued by the *Subedars* of Malwa between the 7th and 48th year of Aurangzeb's reign, granting daily allowances and charities to a certain Brahmin family of Ujjain (*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* Vol. VI, Part I, January 1958, Alamgir's grants to Hindu *Pujaris*), *cf.* articles of the same author in the above journal, Oct. 1957; April, July, Oct. 1958; ; July 1959 ; also see *Journal of Bombay University*, Vol. IX pages 54 *et seq* ; *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, January-April 1942, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911, p. 270.
3. For a list of the temples destroyed from time to time see Sri Ram Sharma: *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 136-149; J.N. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1916), pp. 301-305.
4. Isar Das Nagar : *Futuhat i-Alamgiri* (Rieu I, 269A, Add. 23, 884), f. 62a.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 79b ; Jaipur Records, XIII, 72-74.
6. Dr. I. H. Qureshi's remarks in this connection are curious. He says "The demolition of a few unauthorised temples was a comparatively simple matter. It was

The reimposition of *Jizya* on Hindus too can by no stretch of the imagination be ascribed to the influence of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's teachings or that of his sons and grandsons. According to Mamuri the orders of the reimposition of *Jizya* were issued by the Emperor in the twenty-first year of his reign (1088/1677-78). His account tends to show that it was mainly a punitive measure undertaken in the wake of the Agrarian unrest and the revolt of Hindu *Zamindars*, mainly the Rajputs.[1] The alleged letter of Shivaji in protest to the reimposition of *Jizya*, seeks to emphasise the financial difficulties, with which the imperial treasury was faced due to the wars against him, as the motive force behind the levy of *Jizya*[2]. The main points of the summary of the argument of the Ulama in favour of *Jizya*, given in *Mirat i-Ahmadi*, are as follow : "As the entire attention of His Majesty is directed towards strengthening the *Din i-Mubin* (manifest faith) and giving vogue to the *Shar i-Matin* (the firm *Shara*), all the affairs of the State, financial and political, have been moulded according to the *Shara* ; the *Ulama*, the learned people and the *Faqihs* looking to the Emperor's efforts for cherishing the faith, pointed out the necessity of imposing the *Jizya* on the *Zimmis* of the imperial domains in accordance with the principles of the 'illustrious' *Shara* and the highway of the people of Muhammad". The schedule of the rate of *Jizya* to be realised from different classes of people culled from the works of *Fiqh* was submitted to him. The following procedure of its payment was also pointed out to him. 'The *Zimmi* should himself go to the collector of *Jizya* for the purpose on foot. The collector should remain seated and the *Zimmi* standing. The collector should stretch out his hand above that of the *Zimmi* ; receive the money and declare, '0 *Zimmi* ! Pay the *Jizya*."[3] The exact date of the enforcement of the order as given

resented but it did not result in any breach of peace or revolt. It was *spectacular but futile ; it did not solve any problem, but only added to them.* Men's minds are not logical to the extent of excluding resentment at the demolition of a place of worship even if it is unauthorised. *In any case the law requiring the permission of the state for the construction of a temple did not accord with the sense of justice of the people whose temples were demolished.* Even today it is forgotten that Alamgir I's government made numerous grants to Hindu places of worship for their maintenance, but the demolition of a few temples is still remembered. *At that time it could not have added to the affection of the people for the government.* In any case orthodoxy demonstrated publicly that it was in command". (Italics mine) [*The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, p. 161]. But at what cost ?

1. Mamuri : *Padshah Nama* (British Museum Orr.1671), f. 1499.
2. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*. Vol. III, pp. 325-329.
3. Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur : *Mirat i-Ahmadi*, Part I, Calcutta 1928, pp. 296-297.

by Mustaid Khan is 1 Rabi I, 1090/12 April, 1679.[1]

Different reasons for the new legislation given by the contemporaries of Aurangzeb tend to show that its real motives were vague though it was rightly looked upon with horror by the contemporary Hindus.[2] Undue emphasis on the religious aspect of the question tend to colour its correct historical perspective. Nevertheless, it is not possible to agree with the apologists of Aurangzeb who remark, "It was forgotten that he had remitted nearly eighty taxes and cesses, paid mainly and in many cases entirely by the Hindus, but reimposition of *Jizya*, was carefully noted, and resented."[3] It was not the financial aspect that mattered so much as the departure from the existing Mughul practice and the discrimination it imposed ; indeed it was shocking to the non-Muslims. Its abolition within a decade after the reign of Aurangzeb is a clear indication of the fact that even the right hand men of Aurangzeb did not approve of the legislation and they did not fail to undo the wrong at the earliest possible opportunity.[4]

An examination of the laws forbidding the employment of Hindus in public services[5], available in the collections of the Emperor's own letters, contemporary works and the *Akhbarat* tend to show that some sort of general restrictions were imposed ; but the increasing appointments of non-Muslim *Mansabdars* and other officials show that these orders on account of administrative difficulties, could never be enforced. The orders regarding the employment of Muslims only, in future vacancies, as clerks in the revenue and other departments, remained a dead letter owing to the want of adequate trained hands amongst the Muslims. Isar Das Nagar was a great favourite of Qazi ul-Quzaat Shaikh ul-Islam[6] and after the latter's departure to Mecca, he performed distinguished services under Shujaat Khan *Nazim* of Ahmadabad who appointed him, as *Amin* of Jodhpur *Pargana*. The efforts made by him in reconciling Durga Das Rathor and Prince Akbar to Aurangzeb was

1. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 174
2. For the protest of Hindus, see Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 149a ; *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 255.
3. *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 316.
4. Satish Chandra, Jizya in the post-Aurangzeb Period. (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1946, pp. 320-327).
5. *Kalimat i-Taiyibat*, Letter No. 34 ; News-Letter (Provincial Gujarat) Shaban 46 ; News-Letter, 19 November, 1702, *Muntakab ul-Lubab*, II, p. 249; *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 528 ; Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 148a.
6. *Futuhat i-Alamgiri*, f. 6b.

highly appreciated by the Emperor[1]. The orders requiring that at least 50% posts of clerks be filled with Muslims, seem to have emanated from the importance which the *Shara* had gained in the judicial, finance and revenue departments. Previously *Zabta i-Diwani* was the only guiding factor. About 1676-77, *Fatawa i-Alamgiri*[2] acquired considerable importance, hence the necessity of hands capable of handling the Muslim religious law adequately. The remarks of S. M. Ikram, an experienced member of the civil service, tend to show that the new legislations were enforced with a view to improving the efficiency of the department besides giving Muslims a greater share in the highest departments of the state.[3] The corruption amongst the clerks was rampant even in the reign of the Sultans of Delhi and a monarch like Ala ud-Din had to accept the failure of his efforts to reform them. Talish has pointed out the hardships which the soldiers had to undergo on account of the corruption prevailing amongst the Hindu clerks but he has not failed to pay tribute to the tactfulness and integrity of Khwaja Murli Dhar, the *Diwan i-Bayutat* of Shaista Khan who promptly got all the *Sanads* of *Aimadars* verified and the free holdings of Saiyids, Alims and *Mashaikh*, confiscated by Qazi Rizawi the *Sadr* under Khan i-Khanan Mir Jumla, restored to them.[4] The officials of the *Diwani*, Hindus and Muslims both, were trained in moving in set grooves and for the handling of an approved routine. They generally cared for the letter of the law rather than its spirit. Moreover they were guided by the whims of their superiors too. The soldiers had to satisfy the *Bakhshis* and their subordinates, most of whom were non-Hindus, regarding the suitability and gradations of their horses and arms, etc. before approaching the clerks of the department who took necessary actions, in accordance with the orders of the *Bakhshis*, and were not concerned with the propriety of the case. Thus the clerks alone were not always to be blamed. The soldiers, the *Bakhshis* and their staff too were not innocent. In a complex situation like this, the new Muslim officials could hardly exercise any check over the seasoned Hindu officials. Corruption was not the special prerogative of the Hindu clerks. Even the *Qazis* and *Muftis* did not possess unblemished integrity. The petty Muslim clerks could hardly act differently as compared to their Hindu colleagues.

1. *Futuhat i-Alamgiri*, ff. 166b-168a.
2. *Cf.* Mamur i *Padshah Nama*, ff. 148a-148b.
3. *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 316.
4. Continuation of *Fathaya Ibriya* (Bodleian Orr. 589), 118b-120a.

Aurangzeb exhibited remarkable political sagacity and statesmanship in his early career particularly in dealing with his rivals and obtaining the alliance of the Rajputs. In the beginning of his reign he professed to adhere to the principles of the *Shara* in matters relating to administration but he did not neglect to consider the practicability and viability of every piece of legislation before enforcing it. But he gradually began to lean more and more towards the principles of *Fiqh* which were themselves developed in the countries whose inhabitants were predominantly Muslims. Though the *Fatawa i-Alamgiri* was not allowed to override the *Zabta i-Diwani*, even after 1676-77 and the redress could be obtained through either of the two,[1] the importance given to the religious laws, which did not go hand in hand with the secular laws in all cases, gave birth to immeasurable administrative problems and the Emperor was inextricably entangled in a mesh of difficulties. Most of his legislative failure proceeded from his narrow legalistic approach and cannot be ascribed to the influence of either Mujaddid or to that of his sons.

Aurangzeb's piety, orthodoxy and legalistic attitude remained confined to his own personal and private life. None of his sons, *Wazirs*, nobles and officials could be influenced by his attitude and aspirations. The fact that hardly anyone could share his piety and orthodoxy gives the lie to Mujaddid's political philosophy which sought to revitalise the laws of the *Shariat* in India, through the rulers and the sword.

THIRD QAIYUM

Shaikh Muhammad Masum died on 9 Rabi I, 1079/7 August, 1668. The co-operation and harmony which existed between him and his elder brother Muhammad Said were shattered shortly after the death of the latter. The sons and nephews of Shaikh Muhammad Masum began to claim the superiority of their own respective father and the ears of Shaikh Muhammad Masum were also poisoned by his sons against the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Said.[2] After the death of Shaikh Muhammad Masum, his sons also began to quarrel amongst themselves for their respective positions as *Qaiyum* or *Qutb*. Though their father had specifically demarcated the area of the activity of each of them, they remained disgruntled and dissatisfied. His second son Khwaja

1. Mamuri : *Padshah Nama*, f. 148a. In actual practice, but for the highest court of appeals, the stupendous code remained ineffective and customary law prevailed.
2. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, f. 205a.

Naqshband, known as Hujjatullah, and the third son Khwaja Muhammad Ubaidullah, known as Murawwij ush-Shariat, were in particular more zealous in their efforts for the acquisition of the status of *Qaiyum* for themselves and the dispute came to no end even after Khwaja Naqshband assumed the title of *Qaiyum*. However, after some time the remaining ones assumed the honorific title of *Qutb*. Shaikh Saif ud-Din considered the Emperor, princes and other nobles to be subordinate to him as far as spiritual matters were concerned and is said to have established an intelligence department of his own and his spies communicated to him all the illegal practices prevalent in the Mughul Empire.[1] He is no longer mentioned after 13 Muharram, 1080/23 June, 1669 when Aurangzeb visited him at the residence assigned for his use,[2] although a member of Naqshabandis whom Kalimullah preferred to call as Alims accompanied the Emperor in the Deccan too. Other contemporary saints did not hesitate to disseminate scandalous rumours against them.[3]

TEACHINGS OF KHWAJA MUHAMMAD MASUM.

Khwaja Muhammad Masum devoted his entire life to the exposition and propagation of the teachings of his father and his letters like those of his father have been compiled in three volumes. The nature of the problems as also the way to tackle them were slightly different in his case from those of Mujaddid, for the former sought to tackle them quietly with the help of his disciples, as his father had predicted a life of retirement and solitude for him. No important noble is included in the list of his addressees and he generally wrote letters only to his disciples. They comprise discussions on the problems emanating from the obscure portions of Mujaddid's letters and seek to explain the *Tauhid i-Shuhudi* of Mujaddid in simple and intelligible language. Mujaddid's policy of combining the duties of a preacher and a Sufi and the emphasis which the Sufis were required to lay on the implementation of what is lawful and the condemnation of what is unlawful had given birth to a variety of intricate problems which Muhammad Masum had to face.

Alongwith five fundamental requisites of Islamic belief, *i.e.* belief in *Tauhid*[4] and *Risalat*,[5] *Namaz*, *Zakat*, *Roza* and *Haj*, which were the

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.
2. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 84.
3. *Ganj i-Faiyazi*, Cambridge (Browne, pp. 189-90).
4. 'There is only one God and Muhammad is the apostle of God.'
5. 'Belief in prophethood and Muhammad being the seal of the Prophets'.

primary duties of Muslims, he assigned a very high place to the *Suluk* of the Sufis which served as a means of the attainment of the *Marifat* and flight from entanglement in carnal desires. He could not conceive of leading a life without obtaining the *Marifat* of the Almighty.[1] He agreed with his father in emphasising that Sufis outwardly lived in society, but in reality they led a life quite aloof from the same.[2] He agreed with those Sufis who interpreted Sufism as restlessness and considered quietitude detrimental to its proper growth.

He ridiculed the views then prevalent that "*Tariqat* means peace and friendship with all, while the *Shariat* enjoins upon believers the necessity to fight against the enemies of Islam." He emphasised : "*Shariat* is the highest stage of spiritual development and is supported by *Wahis* and cannot be changed till the Day of Judgment. *Tariqat* can in no case ignore the requirements of the *Shariat*, and the followers of *Tariqat* can at no stage be exempted from the obligations of the *Shariat*. Those who believe contrary to this cannot be allowed to remain within the fold of Islam and deserve to be condemned. No question of friendship or peace with them can ever arise." He advised the mystics to hold fast to the *Shariat* whenever, under the hypnotic state of ecstasy, they felt an urge to make utterances against it.[3] "All the mystic perfections are subject to the fulfilment of the obligations of the *Shara*. Without the *Shariat* there is nothing but depravity and apostasy."[4] He wrote to Shaikh Darwesh Muhammad Bakhshi, "Most of the ignorant Sufis and *Mulhids* feel no hesitation in mixing with *kafirs* and maintain that the path of *Faqiri* enjoins upon the people that they should not be hostile to anyone. Praise be to God. The choicest attitude of Prophet Muhammad and the *Faqirs* and saints of the past was to wage a war with, and kill, the *kafirs*. They are strange types of *Faqirs* that they abandon the path shown by Prophet Muhammad and their preceptors and adopt the path of others. They select a path opposed to that of their cherished traditions. It would lead them nowhere but to misguidance and aberration. *Kafirs* are undoubtedly enemies of God. This is established by authoritative *Nass* (rulings based on verses of the *Quran*) and traditions. Their claim to have friendship with the Prophet sounds strange, for on the one hand they claim his friendship but

1. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, (Amritsar) Letter no. 119.
3. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 73.
4. *Ibid.*. (Amritsar), Letter no. 16,

on the other they befriend his enemies and do not condemn them. Had the worthless *kafirs* not been detestable and enemies of God, to nourish enmity against them would not have been the most essential article of faith of the Prophet and it could not have been regarded as a most perfect form of faith and a source of acquiring friendship with and acquiescence in God and a source of His nearness. To love the friends of the beloved and to have enmity against the enemies of the beloved are the fundamental requirements of a true love. One who claims to be the friend of someone but does not condemn his enemies is a hypocrite."[1] He accused those who adhered to the policy of 'peace with all' of being at peace only with Jews, Yogis, Brahmins and heretics and hostile to the Sunnis alone. He failed to comprehend this type of peace and concord.[2] He thus fell in line with all the critics of the policy of peace and co-existence as followed by Akbar and Dara Shukoh. The stage in which the Sufis conceived both Islam and *kufr* as possessing an equal status was, like his father, publicised by him as a stage of mystic intoxication and was to be taken as a transitory one.[3] Surrounded as he was with the pantheists and the way in which they dominated the minds of contemporary Muslims, he found great difficulty in arguing with those who were not convinced with the literature produced earlier on the subject and the mass of letters written by his father. The verses of Masud Bak were also frequently quoted by his opponents as well as inquisitive disciples, for they intensified their devotion to the Almighty and sharpened their longing for Him.[4] He wrote to Shah Nimatullah Qadiri, "If we who are living in retirement and seclusion were to engage ourselves constantly in prayers and meditation, we would not be able to perform such a creditable service as you can do by impressing an effective sentence of truth on the minds of the rulers. Rulers are like souls to the body. The health of the body depends on the health of the soul. The corruption of soul means the corruption of the body. If the rulers are, therefore, reformed, the entire world will be reformed."[5]

In a letter to one Maulana Hasan Ali, he wrote : "Since the end of the world is drawing nigh, the faith has become weak. *Snnnat* has

1. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Amritsar), Letter no. 55 ; *cf.* (Kanpur edition), Letter nos. 29, 39.
2. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 26.
4. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter 50, *Supra* p. 47.
5. *Ibid*,. (Kanpur), Letter no. 74.

been abandoned and *Bidat* is prevalent. Hence the acquisition of knowledge and its propagation are paramount needs in such an age of darkness." He, therefore, advised him to acquire and disseminate the sciences related to the *Shara* and the revival of the *Sunnat* of Prophet Muhammad.[1] He emphasised, "The first stage of the revival of *Sunnat* is to personally practise it and its highest stage is to propagate it and make others follow it."[2] "The efforts to practise the *Shariat* and to avoid *Bidat*", according to him, "lead to the advancement of the inner light."[3] "The path trodden by Prophet Muhammad is the chosen path. To walk on that path means walking on the path of the *Shariat*. Those who wish to walk into the shoes of Prophet Muhammad are required to follow the path of the *Shariat*."[4] He enjoined his followers to avoid the company of the *Bidatis* and the *Mulahida* for they were the thieves of religion. The believers were advised to leave the place where something against *Shara* was practised. Drawing upon Fuzail b. Iyaz's[5] statement he said, "Those who love a *Bidati* can be deprived of all their righteousness by the Almighty and the light of faith will be removed from their hearts." Hence the enmity against a *Bidati* was prescribed as a sure means of salvation even if people lacked in righteousness.[6]

A *Pir* or a religious guide was considered indispensable by him,[7] for he thought that only the *Pirs* could lead their *Murids* to perfection. He discouraged the view held by some Naqshbandis that mystic teaching and learning *in absentia* were also possible in their *Silsila*. They cited the instance of the very short period of discipleship of Mujaddid to Baqi Billah in support of their argument. Khwaja Muhammad Masum emphasised that Mujaddid also sat at the feet of Baqi Billah to acquire mystic training and traversed all the important stages of mystic development in Delhi under his *Pir's* presence. However, he warned against lending ear to those guides who did not follow the *Shariat*. He went to the extent of advising his followers to leave the town where such

1. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 178.
2. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 228.
3. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 51.
4. *Ibid*, (Amritsar), Letter no. 74.
5. One of the earliest Sufis, *cf* Nicholson : *Kashf ul-Mahjub*, pp. 47-100.
6. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 29.
7. *Ibid.*, (Amritsar), Letter no. 132.

Pirs resided lest their influence might create a soft spot for them in their hearts. He regarded such *Pirs* as thieves of the faith and did not consider them to be *Arifs* and attached no importance to their self-mortification, vigils and ascetic exercises.

He encouraged his followers to believe that Mujaddid was superior to all the past and present saints.[1] Mujaddid had himself left no stone unturned in establishing the superiority of Sirhind, the place of his birth,[2] over other places. Shaikh Muhammad Masum, on Mujaddid's authority, popularised the myth that God made the burial place of his father so heavenly that if a handful of earth from that place were to be cast into the grave of anyone, his salvation was assured.[3] These beliefs, a life of ease and comfort which the *Khalifas* and eminent followers of Shaikh Muhammad Masum had commenced leading, their mutual hostilities and the struggle for supremacy by the different branches of Naqshbandi Silsila brought about the collapse of the already tottering structure of the *Mujaddidis* even in the life-time of Aurangzeb. The third *Qaiyum* died on 29 Muharram, 1114/25 June, 1702[4] and he was succeeded by Muhammad Zubair as the fourth *Qaiyum*[5] in accordance with the will of his father, but the remaining descendants of Mujaddid did not extend their obedience to him and a fierce dispute arose between the various factions, the most striking feature of which was that even the ladies did not hesitate to participate in it .[6] The people of Sirhind too fished in the troubled waters.[7] However, the author of the *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* found solace in writing that no successors of Aurangzeb could get the throne without the active support and blessings of the fourth *Qaiyum*.[8] It was in the time of Muhammad Zubair, that Asad Khan, a great favourite of Aurangzeb, petitioned to Jahandar Shah within nine days of his succession, to abolish the *Jizya* and it was accordingly done. It was in the time of the fourth *Qaiyum* that Bahadur

1. *Ibid.*, (Kanpur), Letter no. 119.
2. *Maktubat i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter no. 22.
3. *Maktubat i-Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, (Kanpur), Letter no 70.
4. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, ff. 301a, b.
5. *Ibid*, f. 314a.
6. *Ibid*, ff. 264a, 314b.
7. *Ibid.*, ff. 318a, 320a.
8. *Ibid.*, ff. 315b-321a.

Shah decided to use the epithet *Wasi i-Mustafa*[1] for Ali in the *Khutba*. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya* mentions with pride, the rulers and *Wazirs* of almost all the countries sending their representatives to the fourth *Qaiyum*[2] while Sirhind was being badly sacked by Banda, the successor of Guru Govind Singh, and the Muslims were being ruthlessly massacred without any distinction of sex or age, by the Sikhs.

Shah Jahan and Saints and Alims

The *Mujaddidis* could find no explanation for the indifference of Shah Jahan towards the descendants of Mujaddid and the banishment of Shaikh Adam Banuri. The historians of Shah Jahan's reign seek to depict him as an ideal Muslim ruler of his age. To give a realistic basis to their picture of the Emperor, they have not omitted to mention any of his actions and policies fitting in with their estimate of the ruler, *viz*. the abolition of *Sijda* and *Zaminbos* ceremonies, the despatch of gifts to Mecca, war against non-Muslims, the demolition of temples, *Milad* assemblies which he attended and the celebration of *Id* festivals etc. However, these professions of orthodoxy, which by no stretch of the imagination verge on bigotry, did not last for more than a few early years of his reign. He had no inclination towards the *Shuhudi* ideology ; hence the successors of Mujaddid found no access to him. The chroniclers of his reign have given an account of a number of saints and Alims who adorned his reign. But, of all these saints and Alims only Shaikh Fazlullah of Burhanpur and Miyan Mir of Lahore enjoyed the highest devotion, veneration and admiration of the Emperor. He had met Shaikh Fazlullah of Burhanpur when he was a prince, and paid two visits to Miyan Mir, one on 7 April, 1634 and the next, two days after. On his return from Kashmir Shah Jahan again saw Miyan Mir on 18 December, 1634[3]. Dara Shukoh also accompanied his father[4]

1. Ali as the executor of Muhammad's will who according to Shias was entitled to succeed Muhammad.
2. *Rauzat ul-Qaiyumiya*, ff. 320a-320b.
3. Qanungo, K. R. : *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 72-73 ; Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 329-331 ; Muhammad Amin: *Badshah Nama*, (Rampur Mss.), pp. 853-854 ; Muhammad Salih Kamboh : *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 363-366; Khafi Khan : *Muntakhab ul-Luab*, Part I, pp. 548-549 ; *Mirat i-Jahan Numa* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 615-616.
4. The prince had been ailing from some chronic disease for more than four months and the physicians had not been able to cure him. Dara Shukoh had no acquaintance with Miyan Jeo (Mir) at that time and did not recognise him. The

to the saint and the former's devotion to Miyan Mir went on increasing from that date. Miyan Mir was requested to pray for the Emperor so that his heart might be purged of the worldly desires. Miyan Mir replied, "The performance of righteous act pleases the heart of every Muslim. After indulging in righteousness you should yourself pray to God. Do not pray for anything else from God except God." He repeated these lines :

"You yearn for God, as well as for this vile world,
This is lunacy, this is lunacy, this is lunacy."[1]

Shah Jahan also extended due veneration to Mulla Shah. The Saint visited him in the beginning of Jamada II, 1050/September-October 1640. Various subtle points of spiritual knowledge were discussed and he was dismissed with honour.[2] He sought the company of some other saints too. He had seen Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari Rizavi of Ahmadabad, Gujarat, who belonged to the line of Shah Alam[3] with his father, during his visit to Gujarat. Once again he saw him during the life time of his father. After his accession to the throne, the Saint could not reach the capital to offer congratulations to him as he had been suffering from asthma,[4] but his son Saiyid Jalal[5] entered the Emperor's service.[6] The Emperor was highly impressed with his attainments and considered his company to be a great boon. A large section of the Muslims of Gujarat was devoted to his *Silsila*. He was

Emperor took him to Miyan Jeo with great devotion and humility and entreated to the saint to pray for his health. The Emperor, catching hold of Dara's hand, said, "Miyan Jeo ! This is my eldest son and I have great love for him. The physicians are unable to cure him. Please pray for him." Miyan Jeo took the Prince's hand into his own, filled with water the earthen cup which he himself used for drinking water, recited some prayers and gave it to the Prince. After drinking the water he was cured of all diseases wthin one month. [*Sakinat ul-Auliya*, (Rampur Mss.), f. 137b].

1. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, (Rampur Mss.), f. 138a.
2. Abdul Hamid: *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 207 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. VI, p. 330.
3. Son of Qutb Alam who was known as Shah Manjhan too. He died in 880/1475-76 and was buried in Ahmadabad. (*Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, pp. 161-162).
4. He died in 1045/1635-36 and was buried in the tomb of Shah Alam.
5. He was born on 11 Jamada II, 1003/21 February, 1595 and died on 1 Jamada I, 1057/4 June, 1647 (*Amal i-Salih* Vol. III, p. 362).
6. Abdul Hamid Lahori: *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 328-329 ; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), pp. 851-852 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 357-359.

appointed to the post of *Sadr* of the entire imperial domain on 9 Shaban, 1052/2 November, 1642 and was assigned a *Mansab* of 6000 *Zat* and 2000 *Sawar*.[1]

Maulana Muhibb Ali, a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah Burhanpuri, came to the notice of the Emperor during the latter's first expedition to the Deccan after his accession, and joined his service.[2] Shaikh Nazir, a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad, son of Saiyid Rafi ud-Din, son of Saiyid Jafar Shirazi, entered the service of the Emperor during the latter's princehood and took upon himself the duties of guarding the bed room of the Emperor. Day and night all the year round in his spare time, he would remain seated at the doors of his bedroom and keep himself occupied in meditation. The Emperor had assigned sufficient daily allowance, elephants and horses for his use but he would generally fetch fuel and grass from the forest and earn his livelihood by selling them. He left a deep impression by his loyalty on the Emperor. He was a great miracle-monger and the Emperor, Prince Dara Shukoh and some other scholars and theologians would take delight in quoting anecdotes regarding his miracles.[3] Likewise, Shaikh Habib, known as Raja, led a retired life in Agra. Nevertheless, he (Shaikh Habib) visited the Emperor twice and had highly impressed the latter and his contemporaries by correctly predicting the date and time of the fall of Qandahar.[4] Khwaja Ishaq Dah-Badi, who hailed from Turan and had settled in Kashmir in Akbar's reign, was visited by Shah Jahan several times.[5] Mulla Khwaja of Bihar, another disciple of Miyan Mir, who had settled in Lahore, would hold frank discussions with Shah Jahan on the subtleties of mysticism and spiritual knowledge.[6] Shaikh Pir, another saint who died at Meerut, would accompany the Emperor to his

1. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 331-332 ; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama*. (Rampur Mss.), pp. 852-853; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 359-363.
2. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 335-336 ; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama*, pp. 855-856 ; *Amal i-Salih*, pp. 367-369.
3. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 337-339 ; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama*, (Rampur Mss.), pp. 856-857; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 373-375.
4. Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama* (Rampur Mss.), p. 859 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, p. 375.
5. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 332-333.
6. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 333-334; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama*, (Rampur Mss.), p. 859 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, p. 378.

expeditions.[1] Shaikh Abdur Rashid shunned the company of the people so much that he did not visit even Shah Jahan despite the latter's entreaties.[2] Mir Saiyid Muhammad, who led a retired life at Qannauj, remained attached to the Emperor from the 32nd year of his reign till his death. He would discourse on the *Quran* and the *Hadis* in the assemblies of the Emperor.[3] Shaikh Sadiq of Burhanpur had predicted Shah Jahan's accession to throne.[4] Shaikh Balaul Qadiri was repeatedly visited by the Emperor.[5]

Accounts of some other saints who lived in the reign of Shah Jahan are also available in the chronicles of his reign. They have made no mention of the nature of their relations with the Emperor but those who have found mention in the contemporary chronicles were pantheists and the protagonists of peaceful co-existence and harmony. None of them belonged to Mujaddid's school. Had the Emperor ever shown any veneration to any of the *Mujaddidis*, the fact could not have been ignored, at least by the official historian of his reign.

Aurangzeb and the Revivalists

To the Saiyids, Shaikhs and Ulama Aurangzeb's reign was a great boon.[6] This had aroused the extreme envy and resentment of the nobles and other Muslim officials dealing with secular affairs. The creation of a new department of *Ihtisab* no doubt opened fresh avenues to the theologians but not without an adverse effect on the creative side of their scholarly activities. The Ulama devotedt heir energies mainly to the compilation of *Fatwas*. The monumental volumes of *Fatawa i-Alamgiri*, whose compilation the Emperor himself supervised,[7] could

1. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, p. 334 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, p. 337.
2. *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, p. 378.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 379.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 376-377.
5. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, p. 334 ; Muhammad Amin : *Badshah Nama*, (Rampur Mss.), p. 854 ; *Amal i-Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 366-367.
6. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 528.
7. Mustaid Khan says, "All the aim of his exalted heart was devoted to making the general Muslim public act according to the legal decisions and precedents of the theological scholars (Ulama) of the Hanafi School ; but seeing that those rulings as found in the existing law books were confused (lit. mixed) on account of the diversity of opinion among the *Qazis* and *Muftis* and the weakness (*i. e.* little weight of authority) of the traditions, and the contradictory nature of the

only be of interest to the *Qazis* and the *Muftis* but the study of *Hadis* as commenced by Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and stimulated by Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi found no impetus during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The theologians were shrewd enough to exploit the royal patronage to their utmost. They seemed to be following the maxim, "make hay while the sun shines." Qazi ul-Quzzat Qazi Abdul Wahhab was not less exerting than Makhdum ul-Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri in amassing wealth. His son Shaikh ul-Islam was a solitary exception. Undoubtedly he deserved the encomium bestowed on him by the Emperor himself and other historians : "Verily in the reign of the Timurids, not a single truth loving, pious and honest Qazi like him was heard of." The other members of his house were prototypes of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab. Shaikh Siraj ud-Din, who was the *Diwan* of Berar, misappropriated the imperial funds and assumed the cloak of a *Darwesh.*[1] Muhammad Maali Khan, a grandson of Qazi Abdul Wahhab, was addicted to drinking and music. Shah Nawaz Khan has summed up the attitude of the contemporary *Qazis* thus : "Those who sell religion for worldliness (*Din ba Duniya*) regard this noble office as a very easy one and spend money in bribes (to obtain it) in order that by doing away with the rights of men they may extort a hundred times more. They regard *Nikahana* (fees on marriages) and *Mahrana* (fees on dowers) as more their due than their mother's milk. What shall be said of the hereditary *Qazis* of the townships, for to be in touch

declarations of these ancient authorities—and above all as those rulings were not embodied in one book, so that till many law books were collected and men (in India) could acquire adequate mastery of the science of jurisprudence, it was impossible to make a correct extract (of the Quranic precept applicable to the particular case), (therefore) the heart of this Emperor, the asylum of the Faith, was set on this that a syndicate of celebrated theologians and well-known scholars of Hindustan should go through the long authoritative books on jurisprudence, which had been collected in the imperial library, extract the rulings of *Muftis*, and compile one comprehensive book out of them all, so that all may find out the authoritative rulings (on their cases) with ease. This great work was entrusted to a board presided over by that highest of scholars Shaikh Nizam (of Bhagalpur in Bihar), and all the scholars engaged in the work were given good pay and subsistence. About two lakhs of rupees were spent in preparing this book which was entitled the *Fatawa i-Alamgiri*, and which rendered the world independent of all other books on jurisprudence." (*Maasir i-Alamgiri*, pp. 529-530 ; J.N. Sarkar's English translation p. 315.)

1. The English translation of the above in Beveridge and Baini Prasad is confusing.

with knowledge is the lot of their enemies (*i.e.* they are ignorant), and the registers of the *Despandya* (village-accountants) and the words of *Zamindars* are their holy book and *Shara*"[1]. Corruption, immorality and vice were not confined to the *Qazis* alone but had their followers amongst the *Imams* of the mosques too, who visited hemp-saloons without hesitation.[2]

The reforms which Aurangzeb sought to bring about in the lives of Muslims through legislation remained confined to the granting of more stipends to the *Muazzins*, *Imams*, *Khatibs*, teachers[3] and to the officials of the *Hisba* department, which was naturally interested in finding out fresh avenues of employments and promotions for its development. The hands of the censors of morals could not reach the collars of the rich and influential Muslims. Even murderers could escape the clutches of the law. The *Qazis* of the cities and towns in concert with the governors and magistrates would sell, out of greed, the decrees of *Qisas* (retaliation on account of murder) for gold.[4] Those who had the guts to bring the true state of affairs to the notice of the Emperor could be counted on the fingers of two hands. When Mir Murtaza Waiz of Multan presented his treatise entitled *Haq Gu* to the Emperor at Poona, where he had gone for the conquest of its fort, the Emperor, after turning over two or three folios remarked: "God be praised ! In my reign there do exist people who can express the truth so fearlessly." Aurangzeb intended to assign the duties of *Hisba* to him and requested him to choose a city, which suited him in respect of climate. He replied, "If you assign the duties of special people to me, I am prepared to accept otherwise the common people of most of the cities are devoted to me." Before he could explain what he really meant by special people he was heckled by Qazi Akram Khan who, interrupting him, told the Emperor that Mir Murtaza wished that the graves of those saints should be dug out and the bones burnt where music was played. The Mir's efforts to explain his position were drowned in the atmosphere created by the remarks of Qazi Akram.[5]

1. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 235-241 ; Beveridge and Baini Prasad: Vol. I, pp. 73-78. The above remark of Shah Nawaz proves that local traditions were far more weighty and applicable to the local conditions, even in Aurangzeb's reign, than the stupendous code, the *Fatawa i-Alamgiri*.
2. *Anfas ul-Arifin*, p. 91.
3. *Maasir i-Alamgiri*, p. 529.
4. *Maasir ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 237.
5. *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, pp. 563-564.

Mujaddid had sought to overhaul the society through converting the Emperor to his views. Aurangzeb was a ruler of puritan and orthodox views with profound leanings towards Sunni dogmas and in this he, no doubt, stood very near to the ideal conceived by Mujaddid. There was nothing left for Mujaddid's successors, to do in this direction. Some of them basked in the warm sun-shine of the Emperor's favour and dabbled in court intrigues.[1] To whip up the movement against the worldly life of the Ulama and saints, their nefarious alliances with the nobles and the grandees of the Empire and the eradication of the alleged *Bidats* which were prevalent became the lot of the saints like Mir Murtaza. The musical notes which resounded and echoed in the chambers of the princes, nobles and the tombs of the saints were severely denounced by him. *Bidats* prevalent during *Shab Barat*, *Ids* and tenth day of Muharram also became the target of his attack. The preparation of food and distribution of gifts for the peace of the soul of the deceased, which were popular in India but were not prevalent in Arabia, Iran and Turan, he sought to uproot. Among the intoxicants, hemp had been more popular with the common poeple, as well as with the theologians and its consumption was a firmly rooted practice. Mir Murtaza condemned the addicts lock, stock and barrel. His teachings might have impressed the common people in some degree but there brewed a storm of opposition among the Ulama, saints, nobles and high officers. To whichever town he went, they made his life miserable. His lectures condemning the use of tobacco touched off a riot in Poona which could only be quelled with great difficulty. Once when he was severely criticising the use of hemp and quoting the traditions of Prophet Muhammad in support of his criticism, a learned man of Kashmir remarked, "Hemp was conspicuous by its non-availability in the days of Prophet Muhammad. It came into vogue five hundred years after him. You, who are quoting spurious traditions, deserve to be condemned." Subsequently the opposition to the puritan Islamic teachings of Mir Murtaza mounted to such heights that it became exceedingly difficult for him to move out from the mosque to his house and he was driven to such straits that he ultimately extricated himself from them by committing suicide.[2] The persistent but vehement opposition to Mir Murtaza's teachings, which terminated in his tragic end, came

1. *Cf. Ganj i-Faiyazi.*

2. *Muntakhab ul-Lubab,* Vol. II, pp. 563-65.

from such quarters as the *Qazis*, *Mir Adls*, nobles and high officers. This makes it abundantly clear that it was mainly the upper and educated Muslim class which showed hostility towards the puritan and revivalist preachings. They were not prepared to call a halt to all the progress which they had made in the field of learning and sciences as well as in the social and cultural domain, in which the process of peaceful co-existence had made considerable headway, in India. The opposition to the revivalist and reactionary tendencies, verging on measures of persecution by the Muslim upper classes, was greater in the reign of Aurangzeb, than in the preceding ones.

The modern supporters of the ideology of Mujaddid find themselves in the unhappy position of falling between two stools as regards the legislation of Aurangzeb and reforms introduced by him are concerned. They on the one hand, following the logic of Nawwab Sader Yar Jang Maulana Habib ur-Rahman Khan Sherwani, a former *Sadr us-Sudur* of the government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, maintain[1], "In Jahangir's reign, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind commonly known as *Mujaddid -alf i-thani* came to the forefront. By constant efforts he brought about a revival. The political effect of this change can be seen in the differing atmospheres of the courts of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb Alamgir. Akbar was the culmination of the success of heterodoxy, Jahangir's accession marked its decline ; Shah Jahan, pious and orthodox, did not tolerate laxity in court but, at the same time, kept the non-orthodoxy contented ; Alamgir was the symbol of the victory of

1. Maulana Saiyid Manazir Ahsan Gilani : *Hazara i-Duwum Ya Alf i-Sani* [*Tazkira i-Mujaddid Alf i-Sani*, (Lucknow 1959), p. 29].

احسان فراموشی ہوگی ، اگر میں اس کا اظہار نہ کروں کہ سب سے پہلے اس مسئلہ کی
طرف جس کا میں آج ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں نواب صدر یار جنگ مولانا حبیب الرحمان خاں
صاحب شروانی مدظلہ العالی سابق صدر الصدور ممالک محروسہ آصفیہ نے توجہ دلائی
تھی آپ نے ایک تقریر میں یہ سوال اٹھایا تھا کہ کیا وجہ تھی کہ مغل حکومت
کے تخت پر چار بادشاہ مسلسل ایسے بیٹھے کہ ان میں دوپہلوں کو دو پچھلوں سے کوئی
تعلق نہ تھا۔نواب علامہ کا اشارہ اس طرف تھا کہ شاہجہاں اور عالمگیر ان دوپچھلوں کو
جہانگیر اور اکبر سے مقابلہ کرکے دیکھئے ۔ دونوں میں کوئی مناسبت ہے؟ یہاں اس سے بحث
نہیں کہ ان چاروں میں کون سے دوآسمان تھے اور کون زمین لیکن نسبت دونوں طبقوں میں
وہی تھی جو آسمان وزمین میں ہوسکتی ہے ۔ آخر بھائی؟ گندم کے گندم سے جو کی
روئیدگی کس طرح ہوگی ۔ وہی دریا جو شاہنشاہی قوتوں کے ساتھ ایک سمت بہ رہا تھا
یکا یک پلٹ کر اس کا بہاؤ بالکل مخالف رخ کی طرف کن اسباب کے تحت ہوگیا

orthodoxy."[1] Further the same author says, "Mujaddid's letters show that, apart from his warfare against doctrinal laxity, he had a positive political programme. This was the restoration of such institutions as had been abolished or fallen into disuse ; the foremost of these was *Jizyah*. It was this programme which was actively taken up by Alamgir."[2] Dr. Riazul Islam says, "He reimposed the *Jizyah* and ordered the demolition of a number of new temples built without the permission of the state. Simultaneously he abolished numerous taxes whose incidence fell exclusively or mostly on the Hindus. These taxes were abolished because they were not sanctioned by the *Shariat*. This fact gives us a clue to the motives that inspired him in his policy. It also demonstrates that Alamgir did not impose *Jizyah* with the intention of injuring the Hindus economically or otherwise. The *Shara* assures full protection[3] to old and authorised places of worship belonging to non-Muslims. Alamgir carried out this injunction faithfully and issued orders to his officers to ensure the sanctity of such temples. He even made grants to numerous Hindu places of worship. As far as the observance of Hindu festivals and rites at the court was concerned, however one might admire it as a liberal measure, it would

1. Dr. I. H. Qureshi: Introduction to "*A History of the Freedom Movement*—being the story of the Muslim Struggle for the Freedom of Hind-Pakistan 1707-1947, Vol.I, 1707-1831 (Karachi, 1957), p. 20. Another author in his chapter on Symptoms of Decline in the same publication amplified the theory thus : "The Mujaddid boldly opposed all plans to bring Islam and Hinduism together on the religious level which could not but loosen the Muslim grip in the sources of imperial strength. He clearly enunciated that Islam and *Kufr* were two different entities which could not be fused together. The two reigns after Akbar saw a gradual change in policy ; however in the person of Shahjahan's eldest son, Dara Shukoh, Muslim orthodoxy once again came face to face with the same grave dangers which had raised their head in Akbar's days. Dara was greatly under the influence of Vedantic philosophy and considered the differences between Islam and Hinduism as of little importance. In short he upheld the very doctrine against which the Mujaddid had struggled. Dara Shukoh was the heir apparent and his accession to the throne would have undone the Mujaddid's work. On the other hand, Alamgir, the most outstanding among the sons of Shahjahan, had a reputation for orthodoxy. Dara, sure of Alamgir's opposition after the Emperor's death, tried to win over the Hindus, with an eye to the future. Alamgir, on the other hand, endeared himself to the Muslims as a necessary set-off to Dara's policy . This was the beginning of the breach between Alamgir and the Hindus." [Dr. Riazul Islam : Symptoms of Decline (*A History of the Freedom Movement* pp. 66-67)].
2. *Ibid.*, (Introductory), p. 23.
3. But Mujaddid did not.

be most unfair to expect it f.om one who wanted to act as a good Muslim monarch[1]. However, it must be recognised that the net result of his policy was to antagonise strong elements among the Hindus.[2]" S. M. Ikram and Prof. S. A. Rashid write: "He (Mujaddid) contributed largely to the swing of the pendulum from Akbar's heterodoxy to Aurangzeb's vigorous ultra-orthodoxy, rather than a return to Babur's and Himayun's policy of *laissez faire*. The rhetoric and appeal of Shaikh Ahmad's letters kindled religious fervour, and resulted in a religious revival which took some time to bear fruit, which completely altered the history of this sub-continent.[3]"

In the same breath they seek to popularise the following point of view laboriously brought out by Faruqi, who hardly knew about Mujaddid and his policies, that "*Jizyah* was not a tax on heresy, that barring those which were demolished as a consequence of some uprising, the construction of new temples was forbidden and that Hindus were not debarred from public employment, that the campaign in Rajputana consequent upon the flight of the infant sons of Maharaja Jaswant Singh was precipitated by the rash and hasty actions of Rajputs who had given enough cause of annoyance to Aurangzeb and that the Emperor was not responsible for the rise of Mahrattas or Sikhs."[4] Faruqi says, "Aurangzeb did not allow anyone to transgress the limits of propriety. He freely administered reproofs to Sunnis and Shias, Turanis and Iranis, if he found cause for censure. Apart from pressing reasons of administrative expediency, he made no discrimination against sect or creed."[5]

The above theories absolutely ignore the real approach of Mujaddid who was happy at Guru Arjun Dev's execution even though he well knew that it was not inspired by any religious motive. His approach to various political and social problems has been explained at some length in the preceding pages. His theories had no room for Hindus or Shias in any walk of life nor could they permit them to enjoy any sort of concession. Faruqi's or Pakistani scholars' interpretation of Aurangzeb's policy of *Jizya* would have scarcely been acceptable to him.

1. How can it be reconciled with Mujaddid's teachings and programme ?
2. Dr. Riazul Islam : 'Symptoms of Decline,' pp. 68-69.
3. *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan.*
4. Faruqi, Zahir ud-din : *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Bombay, 1935), pp. X-XI.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

It might have afforded him some jubilation but nothing would have been more dearer to his heart than the complete suppression of Hindus and Shias and their reduction to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Uprooting of *Bidats* from amongst the Sunnis and the conversion of all the Sufis to *Wahdat i-Shuhud* were yet some other of his cherished desires. Aurangzeb, as a shrewd ruler and administrator, could not afford to uphold Mujaddid's religious ideals without looking into the practicability of his legislation. The social and cultural conditions which prevailed in the reign of Aurangzeb would certainly have been shocking to Mujaddid. The Pakistani scholar is also at pains to observe : "The Mujaddid's teachings had not fully percolated down to the masses. They were demoralised and dispirited. Even among the theologians there were only a few clear-headed thinkers who tried to save the situation, and the odds were too heavy."[1]

1. Dr. I. H. Qureshi: Introductory (*A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. I), p. 31.

CHAPTER TEN

REVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Since the very inception of Turkish rule in India, the Muslims often had to sail on very rough waters in almost every sphere of their life—social, economic, cultural and religious. The reasons for this were not far to seek. Insistence on rigid adherence to the *Shariat* by a section of the Muslims, Hindus forming the bulk of the population, the say of the Ulama in administrative matters and the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia were some of the factors which were responsible for the above confusion and chaos. To enlist the willing co-operation of non-Muslims in running the administration, particularly at the lower units, a liberal interpretation of the *Shariat* was a dire need. Such an attitude was helpful both to the rulers and the ruled. But the Muslim rulers, even if they wished to keep the interests of the administration foremost, sometimes had their own limitations in this regard. They could not afford to completely shake off the hold of the Ulama who generally stuck fast to fanaticism. Any departure by a ruler from the path of the *Shariat*, even if it was essential due to the exigencies of time and circumstance, was, if not intolerable, at least distasteful to them. There were sometimes differences among the orthodox sections themselves in regard to the interpretation of the *Shariat*. Instances are not wanting of the Ulama differing from the Sufis, the Sufis even from other Sufis, over theological and mystical issues. But with all these differences, the bonds of the formal and orthodox *Shariat* were the chief cementing force. The tendency to overemphasise the esoteric aspect of their discipline on the part of the Sufis was not strongly marked in the beginning, and except *khanqah* life, *sama* gathering and the growing influence of a sort of saint worship which the Sufis indulged into, the differences between the *Shariat* and the *Tariqat* were not very serious throughout the thirteenth century in India.

Conditions could not, however, remain static for long and contacts with Yogis gave a fillip to the esoteric interpretation of Islamic beliefs. The theories of Muhi ud-Din Ibn Arabi gave a new lead to the Indian Sufis too and the differences between the Ulama and the Sufis began to assume serious proportions. The study of *Maqulat* or rationalistic disciplines also went a long way in shaking up the ortho-

doxy. The emergence of the neo-Bhakti movement opened new avenues for mutual adjustments to the Sufis as well as to the Hindu saints. The use of Hindi poetry and songs in *sama* gatherings popularised Hindu mythology amongst the Sufis with the result that a section of the Sufis was weaned away from narrow religious beliefs and this section came to be possessed of wider human sympathies and of the cognizance of the essential unity of all religions. This class of the Sufis believed in the *Tauhid i-Wujudi* and had imbibed Ibn Arabi's pantheistic views and doctrines. A section of the Sufis of the Chishti order as also the Sufis of the Shattari order immensely popularised this approach. Their humane view-point exposed them to the bitter opposition of the Ulama and the Sufis who had acquired the *Shuhudi* ideologies of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and the others who like Makhdum Jahaniyan were reluctant to shake off the inelastic garb of orthodoxy, rather who clung to it more and more. The Ulama joined hands with the rulers to curb monistic and pantheistic tendencies and the Sufis too, who raised the slogan of "back to the *Sharait*" like the Ulama, looked towards the rulers for the furtherance of their ideology. Thus both the Ulama and the Sufis tried to woo the rulers with a view to furthering their own cause.

The Mahdawi movement had its genesis in some popular traditions which predicted the appearance of a Mahdi. The approach of the Millennium of Muslim era gave it great impetus. Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur who claimed to be the "Mahdi of the last days" tried to restore Islam to its pristine purity. He sought to do away with the distinctions existing among the four *Mazahib* (schools of jurisprudence) and create a brotherhood of Mahdawis who depended on nothing but God for everything. They did not confine themselves to any single school of jurisprudence but claimed to adhere to only those principles which Prophet Muhammad preached and practised. They thus unhesitatingly condemned even those principles as un-Islamic which had the stamp of legal sanction since the days of the orthodox Caliphs. They laid emphasis only on the ascetic aspects of Isiam which were said to have been practised after the death of Prophet Muhammad only by a few of his companions like Abu Zar Ghifari. The idea of *Khatm ul-Wilaya* or the "seal of the saints" as stressed by Ibn Arabi served them as a shield against the opposition organised by the Ulama. The latter were not only dubbed as *Ulama i-Su* or worldly-minded Ulama by the Mahdawis, but were also told to expect nothing but damnation on

the Day of Judgment. Such bold assertions made the Ulama more and more obstinate in their persecutions against the Mahdawis. But the more they tried to suppress the movement, the more it flourished and Sindh and Gujarat, Biyana and Kalpi became important centres of the Mahdawis. Men from all classes were drawn to their fold though usually it had a greater appeal for poor and down-trodden Muslims who were forsaken by their more affluent brethren. The catholic atmosphere which dominated Akbar's reign, as also his policy of "peace with all" no doubt saved the Mahdawis from further persecution and left them free to indulge in peaceful religious preachings and to lead a pious ascetic life. But such an atmosphere only proved to be incongenial to the missionary side of the movement. Absence of persecution introduced inactivity in their ranks and sapped their zeal and energy to spread the movement. Stagnation set in into their activities with unfavourable results to their cause.

In the wake of the Millennium of the Islamic era, appeared an intense desire in a section of the Muslims to study *Hadis* and other branches of theology. Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and his disciples Shaikh Muhammad Tahir of Patan and Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi made valuable contributions in this field. Their efforts to suppress the activities of the Mahdawis and the Shias were favoured with only partial success. They took up a middle course between the supporters and opponents of Ibn Arabi, and thus sought to ease the tension which existed between these two. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi followed in the footsteps of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi and Shaikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi for about fifty years with untiring zeal. His stupendous contributions to the cause of the study of *Hadis* and his attempts to reconcile the *Wujudis* with *Shuhudis*, Sufis with *Faqihs* had a healthy effect over his disciples, admirers and others. His first and foremost concern was to restore the *Shariat* and the *Sunnat* to their pure form. He used guarded language and resorted to a psychological approach for the furtherance of his mission. His achievements in this direction were, therefore, positive and tangible. He did not attach any importance to the office of a *Mujaddid* and though he claimed that the promulgation and renovation of the *Shariat* was his chief mission, he did not care to appropriate the title of *Mujaddid* or any other appelation for himself. Far from agreeing with the activities of Mujaddid and the claims of his disciples, he wrote a very strong letter to Mujaddid criticising his aphorisms and claims and the activities of his adherents,

The cause of the revivalists was served in India by the Naqshbandis too who enjoyed considerable prestige under Babur. They received a setback under Humayun who on account of his inclinations towards *dawat i-isma* was devoted to the Shattaris, but they retrieved their position in the early part of Akbar's reign. They had among them narrow-minded zealots as well as broad-minded monists. At the end of Akbar's reign Khwaja Khawand Mahmud had gained considerable prestige and popularity in Kashmir. He was popular with the nobles of Akbar's court, and even with the ladies of the *harem*. Khwaja Baqi Billah was able to attract Shaikh Farid Bukhari, some other nobles and Mujaddid to his side. Though he believed in *Wujudi* principles, he was under the spell of orthodoxy. His disciple Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi who claimed himself to be the *Mujaddid* of the second Millennium exerted to make revivalism a dominant religious movement in Jahangir's reign.

Ideologically there was nothing new in it. It was a continuation of the efforts commenced by Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and those started by Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz and Makhdum Jahaniyan in India. The *Shuhudi* philosophy of Mujaddid embodied even similes and metaphors borrowed from Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani and from orthodox Ulama like Ibn Taimiya.

Born at Sirhind, whose *Makhadim* were opposed to the religious policy of Akbar, a contemporary and neighbour of Saiyid Ahmad Afghan of Bajwara, a prominent *Shuhudi* of vast Afghan following, the catholic atmosphere of "peace with all" that prevailed at Agra where he lived for some time hardened him all the more to looking at contemporary problems from a narrow religious point of view.

The Shias were the first to become the target of his attack and he wrote *Radd i-Rawafiz* in refutation of the letter which the Ulama of Mashhad had written as a rejoinder to the Ulama of Transoxiana. The view of an eminent Pakistani scholar, that "the Mujaddid's movement, however, was not principally directed against them (the Shias) ; they came only within the range of its attack"[1], cannot, therefore, be treated as correct. Mujaddid commenced

1. Dr. I. H. Qureshi's introductory article in "*A History of the Freedom Movement,*" p. 23.

his revivalist activities with a tirade against the Shias though only as a jealous reaction to the immense prestige which they had been able to acquire in Akbar's reign. Hindus were attacked next when he commenced writing letters to the nobles in the reign of Jahangir. He preached the condemnation of ignorant Sufis as a legacy of his predecessors, mainly that of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnani. Along with these ignorant Sufis, Mujaddid condemned *Ulama i-su* who had always been a target of attack by all classes. Taken in a wider sense the term could be applied to every Alim but in its narrower connotation it implied none. The epithet was vague and archaic. His movement, which sought to mobilise the nobles of Jahangir's court to bring about a change in the attitude and views of the Emperor had no sound basis and was devoid of popular appeal. The entire approach of Mujaddid was based on suspicion and fear and he laboured under the idea that he and his disciples could persuade the Emperor to follow the programme and policies which they desired, that through their efforts Hindus and Shias could be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. He could not think to do away with the Mughul government, nevertheless he had no programme at hand for strengthening it, upon which depended the prosperity of the contemporary Muslims. He knew that the Hindus were indispensable for the efficient working of the existing administrative machinery, still he was not prepared to accord an honourable status to them. He might or might not have blessed Bikramajit who was proceeding on the Kangra expedition, but this much is evident : his immediate disciples fully supported Akbar's policy of "the Hindu wielding the sword of Islam," so vehemently criticised by Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi.[1] The Sunni nobles,

1. He says, "Indian Muslims have always been exposed to external dangers, and thus their instinct of self-preservation has been strong. They had a system geared for defence as well as conquest, which resisted successfully the Mongol inroads. It was the consciousness of internal danger which again and again inspired the formation of strong, well administered Muslim empires in the sub-continent. But Akbar's policy had considerably weakened, almost eliminated, this feeling because if the Hindu 'wielded the sword of Islam', any sense of danger from Hindu insurrection was discounted." (Dr. I. H. Qureshi : A *History of Freedom Movement*, p. 32). The same author further says, "These arguments should not be taken to imply that non-Muslims should not have been permitted to share the responsibilities of government, but it was a crime to lull the Muslims into believing that the maintenance of the empire was not their primary responsibility.

who were brought up in an atmosphere, which fostered eclectic tendencies and who had received a thorough grounding in Akbar's principles of government and who were saddled with the responsibility of maintenance of peace and order in the realm could not be changed by a letter or two from Mujaddid and act as his fifth columnists. Mujaddid had to remind Shaikh Farid of his duties towards Islam persistently. Shaikh Farid could never come upto the expectation of Mujaddid and nobles like Khan i-Khanan, whom he continued to write letters of theological and Sufic interest even after the death of Shaikh Farid Bukhari, seem to have turned a deaf ear to his impracticable suggestions and unreasonable persuasions. These nobles were not strangers to the principles of orthodox Sunnism as propagated by him. They were aware of its limited scope and implications. The way Mujaddid sought to tackle the political problems shows his utter lack of understanding of the contemporary political problems and the evolution of the administrative machinery of the Mughuls.

In the social field too all the alleged un-Islamic practices were the target of his attack. There was nothing novel in it. Makhdum Jahaniyan, Sultan Firuz Shah, Sultan Sikandar, Mahdawis and all the orthodox Ulama and Sufis had been condemning them since the middle of the fourteenth century, but in spite of all the tirades against them, they had become an integral part of the life of the Indian Muslims. The supporters of Shaikh Budh, the physician of Bihar, had emphasised in very unambiguous words to Shaikh Alai that if Islam was going to exist in India, toleration had to be practised in social customs and manners. Many alleged un-Islamic practices associated with saint worship and the like were in fact providing an incentive to a large number of village folk to embrace Islam. Fictitious graves were the main objects of their worship and the so-called ignorant Sufis and *Faqirs* were the heroes of popular imagination. The tenacious prevalence of those very superstitions, which were enthusiastically condemned by Mujaddid, his predecessors, and the revivalists who followed him, bears eloquent testimony to the hold which they had obtained on the minds of the Muslims, particularly on the ladies and the masses.

Even more disastrous was the encouragement of the feeling that tolerance implied the belief that all religions were merely different paths, all equally good, of reaching the same God. This was an even more potent a cause of the demoralisation and degeneration of the Muslims, especially of their acceptance of subtle non-Islamic ideas. Indeed this was the darkest period in the history of Indian Islam." (*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.)

In the mystic field Mujaddid preached the *Wahdat i-Shuhud* of Ala ud-Daula Simnani and Saiyid Gesu Daraz as also the point of view of the orthodox Ulama insofar as the revival of the *Shariat* was concerned. On the face of it his preachings amounted to a downright condemnation of all superstitions. But his own claims of being a *Mujaddid* and *Qaiyum* smacked of blind superstition. In one breath he criticised all those aphorisms of the eminent saints like Mansur and Bayizid, which were irreconcilable with the *Shariat* as having originated from a state of *Sukr* (mystic intoxication) and hence as unbelievable, in another breath he based his own claim of being *Mujaddid* and *Qaiyum* on mystic revelation and inspiration—a claim acceptable to only a narrow circle of his credulous followers. On the one hand he advocated abolition of all superstitious practices and alleged un-Islamic beliefs but on the other many new superstitions were invented by his *Khalifas* and followers. Mujaddid's own claim cannot, therefore, be said to have emanated from a state of *Sahw* (sobriety). This contradiction in his assertions and preachings reduced the weight of the reforms that he desired to introduce in the mystic field. The way his *Khalifas* later made the very dust of his tomb a sacred relic and a source of salvation nullified the spirit of Mujaddid's teachings. The senior disciples of Khwaja Baqi Billah had carved out an independent Naqshbandi centre at Delhi which was supported by the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah. They claimed to be the sole custodians of the true spirit of Khwaja Baqi Billah's traditions. Mujaddid's persistent efforts and threats could not make them give up their line of action. Elsewhere also the Naqshbandis had made innumberable adjustments and compromises in their discipline according to local needs.

The disciples whom Mujaddid deputed to various parts of the country created no impression upon the people of the particular locality assigned to them. They could not support their ideologies except by the *Kashf* and *Karamat.* Other saints were not lacking these; indeed they had another, but more weighty advantage over them, *viz.* they read the minds of the people with whom they lived. Contrary to this, the *Khalifas* of Mujaddid had nothing in them but the venom of a bigoted *Mulla.* A few like Shaikh Hamid obtained popularity not through propagating a puritanical form of the *Shariat* but by catering to popular sentiments and by fostering monism. At other places Mujaddid is evoked the hostility of the local population and even a saint of quiet temperament like Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi had to write a strong letter of

protest to Mujaddid against his claims. Ultimately Jahangir had to imprison Mujaddid to silence the agitation against him. After his release he remained for some time with the royal camp and had the satisfaction of preaching a puritanical form of the *Shariat* personally. No change is perceptible in the policy of the Emperor due to the association of Mujaddid with the Royal Camp. Mujaddid had realized that nothing could be effected through the nobles and rulers upon whom he had banked his hopes, hence he is said to have prayed to the Almighty that his sons be spared the trouble of visiting contemporary rulers. No mention of Mujaddid's sons is available in the political chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign while most of them deal with a number of monists and pantheists. Even Shaikh Husam ud-Din is not ignored by them. In the reign of Aurangzeb too their activities in India remained confined only to Sirhind or the Imperial Camp. Shaikh Muhammad Masum had great difficulty in convincing some of his correspondents about the teachings of Mujaddid and *Tauhid i-Shuhudi*. Sufism and 'peace with all' had become synonymous and he had to repeatedly criticise the above approach in his letters.

Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued to pursue the same policy which Akbar followed towards the narrow-minded theologians and the religious leaders who attempted to exercise an unwholesome influence over political affairs. Even Aurangzeb proceeded with caution in his religious policy. *Fatawa i-Alamgiri* was not allowed to over-ride the *Zabta i-Diwani*. He independently studied the *pros* and *cons* of every bit of advice tendered by the Ulama in religious matters before implementing it. This is amply evidenced by his attitude towards Mir Murtaza. Akbar generally dealt with the activities of the religious zealots and fanatics diplomatically but Jahangir did not hesitate to deal with them promptly and strictly. Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari and Guru Arjun Dev suffered on account of their having blessed Khusrau. Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, a staunch *Shuhudi*, was imprisoned in Gwalior fort in the early part of Jahangir's reign. Qazi Nurullah Shustari, a zealous Shia *Alim*, was scourged to death. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was imprisoned in Gwalior. Shaikh Nurul Haq was exiled to Kabul. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud left Kashmir of his own accord with a vow not to return in Jahangir's reign. His entry into Kashmir was banned by Shah Jahan too and he had to pass the remaining days of his life in retirement in Lahore. Shaikh Adam Banuri was banished by Shah Jahan to Mecca.

On the other hand Jahangir's devotion to Gosain Jadrup and Miyan Mir knew no bounds. Shah Jahan himself paid several visits to Miyan Mir and extended his utmost respect and honour to Mulla Shah. Other Sufis and Alims also received considerable honour and respect from Shah Jahan. Monistic and pantheistic tendencies as also those of cultural co-existence and assimilation touched a high mark in the later part of Shah Jahan's reign due to the interest of Dara Shukoh in pantheism and *Vedanta*.

In Aurangzeb's reign Saiyids, Shaikhs and Ulama received great patronage ; the *Ihtisab* department opened avenues for employment to a large number of Ulama from whom *Qazis*, *Muftis* and *Muhtasibs* were drawn. Some temples were demolished and *Jizya* was reimposed but this cannot be ascribed to the influence of Mujaddid's *Khalifa* Shaikh Muhammad Masum and his son. The Emperor showed reverence to them indeed but no less respect was shown to eminent monists like Shaikh Burhan Shattari whose blessings the Emperor eagerly sought when he was proceeding to Deccan to fight against Dara Shukoh.

The force of the *Mujaddidis* had exhausted itself by the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. The branch of the Naqshbandis under the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah had achieved increasing importance. They commanded great respect in Delhi and a number of saints, who later acquired eminence, *e.g.* Shaikh Abdur Rahim, were their disciples. The letters addressed to Khwaja Baqi Billah's sons by Khwaja Muhammad Masum show that the former struggled for the supremacy of the effectiveness of *Tauhid i-Wujudi* in Sufism with great enthusiasm. After the death of Shaikh Muhammad Said the affection and co-operation which existed in the house of Mujaddid were shattered. The sons of Shaikh Muhammad Said laid claims on behalf of their father to such matters as the latter would not have even dreamt of. The death of Shaikh Muhammad Masum in 1079/1668 took away even that little vestige of Mujaddid's prestige that remained. The grandsons of Mujaddid were plagued with confusion and demoralisation. All of them sought to acquire the status of a *Qutb* or a *Qaiyum*. They could hardly infuse any higher spiritual or moral values into the Muslims. The association of Shaikh Saif ud-Din with the Emperor is said to have given him considerable material prosperity and his pomp and grandeur is said to have surpassed that of the puritanical Emperor himself but his life

could hardly have a revitalising effect on the Muslim society which the Emperor so keenly sought to revolutionize. Aurangzeb had become sick of the worldliness and opportunism of the theologians and Sufis of his reign. Whosoever among them appeared straightforward, like Mir Murtaza, could get no backing on account of court intrigues. The tragic end of Mir Murtaza clearly brings out the fact that people in Aurangzeb's reign were not even prepared to lend ears to the sermons against *Bidats*, perhaps as a reaction against the hypocritical dealings of the officers of the *Ihtisab* department, whose private lives were no better than those of other Muslims. No one was left from amongst the followers of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi who could revitalise the study of *Hadis* and commentaries on the *Quran*. The emphasis shifted to the patronage and study of *Fiqh*. The confusion and chaos that prevailed in the lives of the Indian Muslims in the long reign of an orthodox emperor like Aurangzeb exposed the hollowness of the doctrine of Mujaddid that all evils could be eradicated only if the rulers could be converted to orthodoxy. Whatever was achieved in the direction of revitalising the Muslim society of Aurangzeb's reign and that of his successors, was the outcome of the efforts of the supporters of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* and policy of 'peace with all'. Their system was condemned by those who examined it only from narrow communal outlook;[1] in fact it was the only system which was held in great admiration by the majority of Muslims throughout India. In an age when the religion dominated every sphere of human activities, *Wahdat ul-Wujud* generated deep human sympathies and emphasised the basic unity of all religions and universal brotherhood and fostered peaceful co-existence. The system had a wider appeal in India than in any other part of the world ruled by the Muslims. The great popularity of the system in the reign of Aurangzeb was its greatest victory and the spirit of the system continued to inspire all sections of the North Indian population till the middle of the nineteenth century when new forces and new factors began to come to the surface due to the imperialistic designs of the British.

1. "The main target (of Mujaddid) was that school of Sufism which by believing in monism (*Wahdat ul-Wujud*) seemed, in popular mind, to support the claim of the ultimate unity of all religions—a thesis which, as has been pointed out, was the main weapon in the armoury of Hinduism against Islam." (Dr I.H. Qureshi : *A History of Freedom Movement*, p. 23).

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INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

B. : Bandagi — Q. : Qazi
b. : *Bin* — S. : Saiyid
Kh. : Khwaja
M. : Muhammad — Sh. : Shaikh

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
13	37	940 H	940 A. D.
18	9	XVIII	XVII
30	25	Bad ud-Din	Badr ud-Din
31	28	Shah Husains	Shah Husain
	29	hi	his
32	10	1329	1229
54	7	anti-*wujidi*	anti-*wujudi*
56	33	Idea	Ideas
73	31	1329	1379
83	6	883/1478	887/1482
100	8	effected	effaced
103	3	*futuh*	*Futuh*
107	23	1215	1512
119	24	1531	1551
129	6	be	he
149	5	ezcept	except
155	22	14 May	14 April
168	39	1499-1500	1504-1505
170	19	*Masabin*	*Masabih*
174	38	p 316	p. 198
185	24	case	ease
194	24	Rabi I	4 Rabi I
195	26	his	their
198	10	/Safar	1 Safar
211	21	this	his
214	3	933/30 July, 1585	993/9 Aug., 1585
229	26	powers	power
259	13	*Mahiyat*	*Maaiyat*
264	40	p. 661	p. 6
302	6, 10, 12	*Muizzin*	*Muazzin*
305	26	45th	55th
316	32	bal	b. al-
321	19	16-1621	1620-1621
354	2	132-33	1432-1433
375	17	seens	seems
384	27	Uqbail d.	Uqbail b.
399	29	efforts	effort
402	13	member	number
410	23	devotedt heir	devoted their
424	37	Mujaddid is	Mujaddidis